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Illiteracy and educational development in the Dominican Republic : an historical approach.

Francisco. Chapman
University of Massachusetts Amherst

ILLITERACY AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: AN HISTORICAL APPROACH

A Dissertation Presented

By

FRANCISCO CHAPMAN

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Education

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Approved as to style and content by:

Luis Fuentes, Chairperson of Committee

Sonia Nieto, Member

Doris Sommer, Member

George E. Urch, Acting Dean
School of Education

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to:

-- My parents, Carlos and Carmela Chapman, who were my first and everlasting inspiration;

-- My uncle, Roland Chapman, who guided me to always be an achiever;

-- My wife, Nancy, who gives both meaning and purpose to my efforts;

-- My children, Quetzalcohual, Francisco Vantroi, Maireni, Franceli, and Kamal, with the hope that this scholastic achievement can be inspirational in their academic life;

-- Luz Lillian Perez, who prizes education above all, giving me the encouragement, confidence, and support in my academic pursuits;

-- My brother and sisters, especially Carmen and Altagracia, who hold so much pride in me;

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Finally, I dedicate this work to:

-- The Dominican new generation, who managed to find ways to surmount this academic hurdle without sacrificing our main goal as human beings in "the struggle for freedom."

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ABSTRACT

Illiteracy and Educational Development in the Dominican Republic: An Historical Approach

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Francisco Chapman, B.A., Herbert Lehman College

M.A., New York University

Ed.D., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Professor Luis Fuentes

Most of the studies done on Dominican education emphasize current educational problems. There have been limited use of the country's educational history. Without utilization of recollected information on the educational process, it is rather difficult to make an objective assessment on the country's educational reality.

This study focuses on the Dominican Republic's educational history. One must understand the past in order to appraise the present and prescribe future solutions to pressing educational problems. In order to explain the present situation of education, in general, and the problem of illiteracy, in particular, an historical sequence of the most important events affecting education was covered. An historical framework was included to provide a better understanding of the nation's cultural diversity and how it impacted on the development of education in the country. The major educational problems affecting the Dominican Republic since the creation of its first Ministry of Education were explored in detail.

After reviewing the history of education in the Dominican Republic and reviewing the present situation, one might conclude that the Dominican educational system has been condemned to failure.

Migration to the United States has become an important aspect in Dominican life. The immigration impact in this nation's education is apparent, and its presence in the educational system in states like New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts is well felt. Therefore a study of the Dominicans in the educational system became a necessity. This dissertation addressed this topic in a limited way. The conclusions and recommendations are directed to educators in the Dominican Republic as well as in the United States, since it is known that more than 900,000 Dominicans are residing in the United States. Education in this country is compulsory; therefore, its educational system became an unwilling partner in the education of the present school-age Dominicans.

This study will enhance the knowledge of educators in the Dominican Republic and challenge educators in the United States to address the needs of those students coming from a system of education that denied them the right to learn. Furthermore, it is the intent of this dissertation to become an important document in the development of initiatives to solve educational difficulties encountered by teachers, students, parents, and administrators in working out any obstacles created by this new wave of immigrants called Dominicans.

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CHAPTER I

AN OVERVIEW

Background of the Problem

Historically, some argue that public educational systems have served as vehicles to transmit the designed model of domination to the society as a whole. Its members, thus, respond to the designed interests of the class in power. In other words, education is a way to prepare the future citizens of society to respond to established rules and regulations which are static in content and exhibit constant dependency in the social establishment. Others are more optimistic about the future of public education, arguing that the failures are not intentional but the results of unproductive practices. It is in this spirit of positive internal evaluation and criticism that a model will later emerge, in this study, designed to significantly improve the ability of teachers to work with Dominican students.

The Dominican Republic's educational system, from the start, undertook what many consider to be an unproductive way of accomplishing the alleged task of educating the people. One indication of educational failure in this society of almost 5.6 million inhabitants is its production of 365,000 illiterate children each year, due to an absence of schools, teachers, educational materials, and an effective educational policy from the government (Fernandez, 1980).

Despite many adversities, including the willed educational failures of successive governments, the Dominican public educational system has

tried to provide for the educational needs of parents, students, and teachers; but it has done so inadequately. The problem warrants an analysis beyond appearances--an examination of the causes that make the Dominican public educational system an institution that needs to be redeemed and reformed.

Several studies have been done on the inability of the Dominican educational system to resolve the problems of illiteracy, dropouts, too few schools, the lack of teacher training, and the general absence of educational resources. Several education experts in foreign agencies (U.N.E.S.C.O. and the Agency for International Development, among others) have conducted research that concludes there is a need to invest more money in the presentation of instruction, teacher training, and curriculum development. Nevertheless, the Dominican Republic's Board of Education Reports for the years 1974 through 1985 do not address the most important factor in the failure of the educational system: an inadequate national budget for education. Without serious investment on the part of the government, it is improbable that anything will improve in public education. An adequate national budget for public education up to now is of low priority to the Dominican government.

The low budget has been linked with the lingering problem of social discrimination. According to Ivelisse Pratts-Ramirez de Perez, before she became the national Secretary of Education in the 1982-1986 government, this obstacle fits the philosophy of control applied by the Dominican government.

> El sistema de educacion contribuye a marginar determinados grupos sociales, manteniendo desequilibrios profundos. Y esto sucede asi, porque la orientacion politica

> del Estado Dominicano se fundamenta en ese desequilibrio y en la injusticia, ya que para mantener el poder concentrado en pocas manos es indispensable que muchas cabezas piensen poco y piensen mal. (Pratts-Ramirez de Perez, 1974, p. 12)
>
> (The educational system contributes to alienating certain social groups, maintaining a profound social imbalance. The political orientation of the Dominican state is basically imbalance and injustice. Many people need to think little or poorly in order for the system to concentrate power in few hands.)*

When she published the "Diagnostico," Pratts-Ramirez de Perez described the public educational condition of the country as critical. The 1970 Dominican Republic census showed that 678,910 adults between the ages of 15 and 65 were illiterate. In addition, there were 169,280 who only had the opportunity to attend school for the first and second grades (Pratts-Ramirez de Perez, 1974, p. 14). These statistics show that the Dominican Republic easily has more than a million illiterate citizens. In addition, the Educational Diagnosis of 1979 found that the Dominican Republic had 56 percent functional illiterates in the urban areas and 89.7 percent in the rural areas. Of every 100 children who attended school in the rural areas, only 7.93 finished the sixth grade. During the year 1970, 302,130 children with an age range between 7 and 14 years did not attend school because there were no classrooms available for them. Another element that cannot be disregarded in any analysis of the Dominican educational system is teacher training. Fifty-six percent of the "teachers" have no more than a high school diploma (Fernandez, 1980, p. 51).

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*Throughout this study, translation of the material, provided by the researcher, will be indicated by an asterisk (*).

With data such as these, we can conclude that the Dominican educational system is in serious trouble. The educational system cannot respond to the needs of its population.

According to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, more than 450,000 Dominicans have been admitted to this country as aliens, more than 200,000 stay here illegally, and approximately 125,000 are born (second generation Dominicans) in the United States. This reality is more than a challenge to the educational system of this country. Dominicans immigrating to the United States carry this educational deficit with them. The few Dominican youngsters who were "fortunate" to have had some schooling in the Dominican Republic test poorly when tested in their native language and the many who have not received any schooling are totally ignorant of written language.

Statement of the Problem

After reviewing the literature on Dominican education, one can conclude that from the time the educational system of this Caribbean nation started, it was condemned to failure. During its existence, the Dominican Republic has had few or no national plans or policies for the educational development of the nation. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo ruled the country with an iron fist for thirty-one years (1930-1961). Without a doubt, his government produced "three more decades of gloom for the development of education in this troubled country. This was compounded by the mass migration of rural people to newly-industrializing cities" (Cassa, 1978). The use of obsolete teaching methods, the lack of educational materials, ignorance of scientific upgrading, and the absence of

a well-defined curriculum characterize the so-called Dominican educational system (Balaguer, 1972, p. 5).

Twenty-five years after Trujillos' downfall, the educational system has advanced at a very slow pace compared with the dynamics of pedagogical science and the country's needs. Even when past governments have been identified as democratic, they have done little to improve the educational structure.

During the past twenty-five years, the citizens of the Dominican Republic have had freedom of mobility. This resulted in one of the most intensified migrations, internally as well as externally, in the country's history. The cities are overcrowded and job opportunities for the newly arrived are scarce. The Dominicans had a revolution in April of 1965, which gave many hope for a better future in the republic. It took a short time to erase that thought. After the 1965 revolution, the largest ever contingent of Dominicans left the country. Immigration historians "mark these historical events as the turning point in the uncertain future confronted by an overwhelming majority of Dominican immigrants in this country" (Castillo, 1981, p. 54).

The 1960s have been known as the decade of Hispanic immigration to the United States. Never before had so many Hispanics from all over Latin America migrated to this country in quantities surpassing the 1950s Puerto Rican migration. Those were the years when the struggle for equality became an everyday issue in the United States. Therefore, it was almost natural for incoming Hispanics to get involved or absorbed in the struggle for a better way of life within their communities. Allied Hispanic community groups applied pressure on State and Federal

government through the courts, forcing them to fill some of their immediate necessities. Bilingualism in the educational system, as a solution to the educational shortcomings among Hispanics in this country, came from this struggle as well as equal employment opportunities, voting in Spanish, civil rights, and open enrollment to universities.

Dominicans constitute an immigrant group with characteristics that differ from other immigrant groups within the Hispanic community. For instance, the majority of Cuban immigrants during the 1960s came from a middle-class spectrum, with a high level of educational training. This was a politically disaffected segment of the Cuban population that preferred to come to this country instead of working for the revolution. Later, waves of poorer Cuban immigrants faced more serious problems. The majority of Dominicans came to the United States during the 1960s from the lower-economic spectrum of society, many of them with almost no skills and little schooling. According to U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service statistics, the majority (85 percent) of the Dominican immigrants originally came from the rural areas (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service Statistics, 1970).

Noting illiteracy rates for Dominicans, 37 percent nationwide and 56 percent in the rural areas in addition to the production of 365,000 illiterate children every year, creates concern as to how this immigrant group can be treated since it is dissimilar to other Latino groups. Studies have to be done before we can fully understand the impact of the Hispanic immigrant on the public educational system and vice versa. Furthermore, it is necessary to analyze United States' policies and its contribution to the elimination of educational deficiency, social

injustice, crime, and unemployment among Hispanics. The descriptive analysis of the educational system and governmental policy and its production of illiteracy, which this dissertation proposes to undertake, will essentially be a small part of a necessarily larger effort.

Since informative resource materials on the Dominican aliens at all levels of society are almost nonexistent, this study will attempt to focus on the unique challenges facing Dominicans in the United States' educational system.

Purpose and Importance of the Study

The present study is based on the premise that the Dominican Republic needs to further develop its educational system and that educational development is a key factor in the maintenance of Dominican self-respect and ultimately self-determination. The Dominicans maintain a constant mobility from their mainland to the United States and back. Since this constant mobility occurs with other ethnic groups (e.g., Puerto Ricans, Columbians, Haitians, etc.), a need to study its impact on the school system is a mandate. Therefore, the purposes of this study are as follows: (a) To explore the sequence of historical events that led to the creation of the Dominican educational system; (2) To explore how the educational system has responded to the challenge of educating the people; (c) To analyze the present educational situation in order to recommend low-cost improvements; and (d) To explore ways in which Dominicans have impacted in the United States' school system, and to suggest unconventional ways of grouping underprepared students in United States' public schools, as well as teacher enrichment programs to foster

Dominican children's pride in their history and culture.

Significance of the Study

Many educators believe that because of its historical past, the Dominican Republic requires technical assistance in education from foreign countries in order to restructure its educational system. It is true that in some cases technical assistance has resulted in the emergence of leadership and the development of a more clearly defined educational national goal. At the same time, however, educators feel that the input of foreign educators has created little change and uncertainty remains as to the value of their educational contributions.

This research may be useful in terms of the contribution it can make to educators in the Dominican Republic who are generally ignorant of Dominican educational history. They are, therefore, likely to repeat errors that come from a lack of planning and resource material; a poor, overly-centralized allocation system; and the lamentable results of almost no teacher or professional training. It should also help United States' teachers and other professionals who work or plan to work with Dominican children. Since Dominicans keep growing as a noticeable immigrant group, it is of fundamental importance for educators to understand the Dominican students' cultural and educational background. In order to be effective in delivering a positive education to new-coming groups, the educational system in this country needs to be prepared at all times to display a great deal of understanding. This task will be accomplished only if the personnel in the school system know and understand the history, culture, and educational background of the incoming groups. This

study gives a clear view of Dominican educational history. Knowing the facts stated in this research are of great significance to educators in the United States. Dominican educators will also benefit from this study since it focuses in an area neglected in their country--the history of Dominican education.

Of specific significance is that it offers workshops that can be excerpted and used independently in order to train teachers to present Dominican history and culture to their students.

Limitations of the Study

The limitations encountered by this research are as follows:

- Very limited research has been done on the subject, so that this study has not been able to take advantage of previous work.
- Most of the bibliography is in Spanish, which is a limitation for monolingual English teachers who are concerned to improve the education of Dominicans in the United States.
- Hispanics, in general, are listed as the population category. No distribution by country is found in the census. This makes it difficult to target the workshops in some areas.
- The same general Hispanic listing holds true for the school system.
- No data or research has been done on Dominican students in the school system.
- A well-documented bibliography is absent.

Method of Study

Several approaches will be utilized to help identify and formulate the concept of education and national development in the Dominican Republic. The objectives of the study are to explore the country's educational history and determine the course the country is taking in order to produce positive educational changes as viable to economic development. The following areas will be explored:

1. The cultural and historical influences which affect public education and national development.

   a) Geographic and historical background
   b) Cultural diversity

2. Major educational problems which directly or indirectly affect the people in the country.

   a) Educational framework
   b) Dominican education before and after the United States 1916 intervention

3. The relationship between public education and national development as they respond to national needs.

   a) Illiteracy in the Dominican Republic and its impact in the country's development
   b) Formal and non-formal education in the Dominican Republic

A descriptive analytical approach is used in this study. It is not experimental or statistical in design. Instead, a social historical approach has been utilized.

While conducting this study, a thorough search of related literature has been made. This research includes, but is not limited to, books, government reports, newspaper accounts, and educational journals. This review stands by itself as a resource to those interested in the affected population.

Definition of Terms

Key terms used throughout this study are defined as follows:

Literacy: U.N.E.S.C.O. defines literacy as the equivalent of four years of elementary school in addition to the possession of some productive skills.

Developing Country: Developing countries are characterized by their high Gross National Product and advanced technology. It is understood, however, that in developing nations where a larger society of the rich is present, an even larger group of individuals are found who are oppressed social, politically, and economically.

Developing country in this reference means economic development. A developing country is one traditionally thought of as the economically poor countries. It has a low Gross National Product, and is less technologically advanced than wealthier countries. It is understood, however, that within a developing country a small elite group of people may appropriate the benefits of economic development "(the surplus production)" for their own use with the majority of the population being in a state of poverty and exploitation (Cottingham and Karl, 1976, p. 10).

Adult Education: Adult education includes education for adults who have had little or no formal education or training, or those adults who wish to continue their education (World Book Encyclopedia, s.v., "Adult Education").

Non-Formal Education: Non-formal education includes those learning activities which take place outside the formally organized educational system with its hierarchy of grades leading all the way from pre-school to graduate and professional school (Harbison, Brembeck, and Thompson).

Cooperative Education: Cooperative education provides a means by which a university curriculum incorporates productive work as a regular part of the student's college education.

Community Service Programs: Community service programs represent an effort to apply the resources of higher education towards improving the quality of life in a given society.

Continuing Education: Continuing education is a continuing, life-long learning process by which youth and adults can lead a more meaningful and useful life. This process is accomplished through formal and non-formal learning.

The strategy for implementation focuses on research on the trajectory of Dominican education from its birth to the present. Furthermore,

it will analyze the following question: Does the educational system respond to its efforts to the national economic development needs? In order to achieve this objective, a model emerges whose design shows how strengthening the educational institution as a whole may assist in the overall development of this country.

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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the Dominican Republic, there has not been a proliferation of educational literature. No government was interested in commissioning it. Since 1845, when education was first institutionalized, the Dominican people experienced a variety of approaches to education, mostly copied from European educational systems. "The educational declaration of 1845 called for one primary school to be set up in each of the more populated communities and two in the provincial capitals. Classes were separated by sex and attendance was voluntary" (Foxworthy, 1976, p. 3). The educational system that the Dominicans started to build in the newly-created state needed a theoretical approach to provide an educational philosophy to the Dominican educational system. Teaching within this system was the result of improvization instead of training in the pedagogical field. "Education did not receive significant national attention again until 1880, when Eugenio Maria de Hostos, a Puerto Rican educator, opened the first school to provide formal training for teachers" (p. 3). The Dominican government did not show any interest in making education a priority. Therefore, it was not until later years that "compulsory education for children aged seven to fourteen was legislated in 1918" (p. 4). Foxworthy maintains in her essay on "Dominican Education" that, "At the time (1918), the country was under the control of a United States occupational force. In addition to imposing internal military and monetary regulations, the appointed military governor directed educational 'reform'. A committee was

established to develop fundamental primary and secondary school curricula and school organization. Schools became co-educational for the first time" (p. 4). After the American invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1916, the educational system took a different turn. It was not a turn for the better. Compulsory education was a law for the first time in this turbulent nation. "The introduction of obligatory education created considerable strain on the existing educational system's facilities. To accommodate the increase in the number of school children, double sessions were organized. This essentially allowed the operation of two sets of children" (p. 4). Another factor stated by Foxworthy in relation to United States' control of the Dominican Republic educational system from 1916 to 1924 was that, "Although the introduction of compulsory education greatly expanded the elementary schools, the organizational and curricular developments undertaken during this period did not result in a similar expansion of the secondary school program. Most secondary schools were in the populated areas, whereas the majority of the population lived scattered in the rural areas. In addition, the economic structure of the first part of the twentieth century did not permit many families, even in the urban areas, to provide more than the basic education for their children" (p. 5). After the American troops left in 1924, the Dominican educational system continued its road toward failure. Scholars from different strata of the country denounced the difficult situation of the public school system. "The educational system is in crisis, and it leads to dramatic characteristics and consequences in the lower level. The accumulation of deficiencies and the conditioning of the socioeconomic framework motivates the deterioration

of the learning process at all levels" (Partido Comunista Dominicano, 1980).* Dona Zoraida Heredia Vda. Zuncar stated that, "The Dominican schools need a renovation, an urgent renovation that responds to scientific, progressive, and systematic educational planning. It needs a change of environment and instruments that produce values and structure revolutions that will constitute a challenge to the condition in which teachers are trained, and that will improve the educational results" (Heredia Vda. Zuncar, 1980, p. 84).* Another very important statement about the educational situation in the Dominican Republic was made by the former Minister of Education, Julio Cesar Castano Espaillat: "The Dominican school started an endless road toward death. It's denaturalized, and everything that is denaturalized is condemned to disappear" (Castano Espaillat, 1980, p. 13).* It is true that the educational system serves the model of domination of society; therefore, according to Jorge Max Fernandez, "The educational system is one of the instruments through which the members of society have been conditioned to become the ideal man, the one that is completely functional for the designed function of society" (Fernandez, 1980, p. 7).* Paulo Freire has stated that "talk about neutrality in education means going back to allow oneself to mystify the system. . . . All educational systems provide different options through a world concept of images, a designed model of thought that we try to accept one better than the other" (Freire, 1979, p. 50).* The Dominican educational system is not in the hands of people interested in resolving the educational crisis faced by the nation. According to Durkheim, "Each society educates its members in relation to what they consider to be the ideal man, from the intellectual point of

view, physical appearance, and morale. . . . This ideal . . . constitutes the pole of education" (Durkheim, 1980, p. 274). The Dominican Republic is among "the lower levels of learning production in Latin America, including Haiti, Honduras, and Bolivia" (Mejia Ricart, 1980, pp. 18-19).* The Dominican "Diagnosis of Education" stated that, "In the Dominican schools, we place 63.2 children per classroom in the urban areas; while in the rural areas, each room houses 65.7 children per room" (Dominican Republic Board of Education Report, 1979, p. 178).* The Dominican Republic has a high percentage of illiteracy. "Many assured that the Third World nations, including the Dominican Republic, are products or a consequence of the low cultural esteem given to academic preparation. In reality, one can see the reverse. The Dominican Republic has a high percentage of illiteracy because it is underdeveloped" (Camacho, 1983, p. 14).* As we all know, "dependency maintains millions of humans around the world ignorant of social developments. That's how complex illiteracy can be in its essence, cause and consequences" (p. 14).* According to the same author, "Brazil has 40 percent of illiteracy among its population, 90 percent in Haiti, 60 percent in Bolivia and Peru, 30 percent in Mexico, and 70 percent in Guatemala" (p. 16).* In relation to the Dominican Republic, the statistics are alarming. As mentioned above, 700,000 Dominicans are illiterate; and 1,200,000 have a low level of instruction--they read and write with difficulty" (p. 16).* To this data we have to add 300,000 children who did not attend school that year because of the lack of classrooms and schools (Lic. Jose Cruz, Executive Director, Citizens for Educational Rights Program). According to Grullon Torres, "In 1975, the percentage of illiteracy in the

population aged five to fourteen years was 37.8 percent" (Grullon Torres, 1983, p. 38).* It is very interesting to see the statistics presented by Roberto Cassa in a symposium about Dominican educational realities. He stated that, "In general, the Dominican Republic has 60 percent illiteracy among people ten years old or over in the rural area, and 30 percent of the same age group in the urban settings" (Cassa, 1978, p. 18). Furthermore, with the constant immigration of Dominicans to this country, one has to see the illiteracy problem as one that extends to and affects the United States' educational system. Schermerhorn stated different factors for the integration and ethnic relationship between ethnic groups and the process of integration into the general society. "The first refers to the origin of the contact situation between the subordinate ethnic and dominant, such as annexation, migration, and colonization; the second to the degree of enclosure (institutional separation or segmentation) of the subordinate group or groups from the society-wide network of institutions and associations; and the third to the degree of control exercised by the dominant group over access to scarce resources by subordinate groups in a given society" (Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 15).

The reality of today is that one can find incredible similarities between New York, Massachusetts, and other cities of the United States of America that help a researcher develop a model to improve an educational system. A model to improve education in the Republic can be designed; but without a governmental budget, it will not go far. The Dominican government, as previously stated, has not given importance to an educational budget. In the United States, the opposite has occurred.

According to White Plisko, educational expenditures in the United States of America since 1949 have increased tremendously, citing at least a 500 percent increase up to date. Plisko stated that it was not until the last four years of the 1970s that the share of the Gross National Product started to reflect the rise in educational expenditures. The government in this country (United States of America) has always considered a proper budget for education; and the result speaks for itself. Therefore, it should be taken as an example of why governments have to invest in the future of public education.

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CHAPTER III

DOMINICAN NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Geographic and Cultural Influences

The island of Hispaniola (Espanola), the second largest island in the West Indies, is located between Cuba and Puerto Rico. The island is divided into two independent countries. On the eastern two-thirds of the island is the Dominican Republic. On the west is Haiti.

From Puerto Rico, the principal port on the northern coast of the Dominican Republic to New York City is a distance of 1,225 miles; to Havana, Cuba, it is a distance of 710 miles.

The Dominican Republic enjoys a tropical climate. Its average annual temperature is 27 degrees Celsius, 80 degrees Fahrenheit.

The country's fauna is overwhelmingly rich in wild birds, such as ducks, pigeons, guineas, quail, turtledoves, and parrots. Alligators inhabit the "Yaque del Sur" and "Yaque del Norte" rivers, Enriquillo Lake, and the so-called "Laguna del Fondo." The island is also inhabitated by iguanas, small lizards, and other varieties of reptiles, frogs, and snakes.

The verdant national flora is comprised of most of the typical plants of the occidental Indies. Its many wood-bearing trees, such as the mahogany, ebony, cedar, guava, walnut, and oak, have been popular export commodities in different epochs.

Natural Resources

The Dominican Republic has sufficient stock cattle for national consumption and for export trade to Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Haiti. Seybo province is the principal cattle-raising locale in the country. The horse is principally used for agricultural transportation in rural areas. The donkey and mule are used for transportation of goods and for travel in the mountain regions. The sheep- and cattle-raising industries are located in San Juan de la Maguana, Bani, Nagua, and the northeastern part of the country. Meat is sold on the local market. Local goat skin is utilized in the manufacture of musical instruments.

Agricultural production is the backbone of the Dominican economy, and sugarcane is its most important product. Other products include tobacco, cotton, pineapple, "Maya de cerca," "Maya de burro," bayoneta, maguey or century plant, "cabuya," Liniquen bariana, yarey, and palm. The last two are used in the manufacture of hats, resistant cord, and "aspero de caballo."

Fruits

Without a doubt, the mango is the preeminent fruit among Dominicans. Other fruits can be found in the Dominican Republic, such as the plantain, avocado, zapote, tamarind, and guava. Many nutritious roots include the potato and mandioc.

Political and Population Divisions

The Dominican Republic is composed of the National District (Distrito Nacional) and twenty-seven (27) provinces: Azua, Bahoruco,

Barahona, Dajabon, Duarte, Elias Pina, El Seibo, Espaillat, Independencia, La Altagracia, La Estrelleta, La Romana, La Vega, Maria Trinidad Sanchez, Montecristy, Pedernales, Peravia, Puerto Plata, Salcedo, Samana, Sanchez Ramirez, San Cristobal, San Juan de la Maguana, San Pedro de Macoris, Santiago, Santiago Rodriguez, y Valverde Mao. These provinces occupy 48,323 Km2. They have a population of 6,102,000, a growth rate of 2.7 percent, and an adult literacy of 77 percent (Caribbean/Central American Databook, 1985, p. 119).

Historical Background

> To know one's country and to govern it according to this knowledge is the only means of freeing it from tyranny.
> -- Jose Marti

During the Pre-Columbian era, the island the Spaniards would call Espanola was inhabited by the Taino Indians, who named the island Haiti or Bohio. This name comes from the Arawak language. Unlike the other tribes that inhabited the continent, the Tainos led a life of peace and harmony. A short time before the arrival of the Spaniards, however, the monotony of their lives was broken by invasions of the Caribs, an Indian group which inhabited the areas along the Orinoco River in Venezuela and constantly attacked the islands of the Antilles. The Tainos maintained a fairly stable society, although their culture was less advanced than those of other tribes in the Americas. One of their outstanding characteristics was their social and economic order. The island was divided into five great chieftainships: Marien, Magua, Maguana, Jaragua, and Higuey. Each of these had a chief who governed the tribe, a

"Bohite" or medicine man, a group of nobles called the "Nitainos," the "Naborias," and the rest of the people who did the fishing, the hunting, and the agricultural work. The economy was typically based around the agricultural and domestic industry. They also engaged in fishing and hunting. The arts consisted mainly of pottery and ceramics. The principal agricultural products were yucca (a root vegetable), corn, and tobacco. As in all primitive societies, women were visualized as fertility symbols, therefore, they were in charge of planting.

The Spaniards arrived in 1492, forcing the Tainos to abandon the way of life to which they were accustomed and making them live in slavery. This slavery, however, was not peacefully accepted by the Tainos. History relates the stories of uprisings led by such Indians as Cotubanama, Enriquillo, and Maniocatex. The Spaniards were always victorious, and the natives were soon decimated. They were victims of inhuman treatment and of forced labor in the mines which proved too great for their fragile physiques.

The loss of this manpower was offset by the introduction of African slaves in 1501. These slaves, brought at the suggestion of Father Las Casas, replaced the Indians in the mines. Soon the island's agricultural economy was abandoned in favor of a mining economy which lasted until the gold resources were exhausted. Thereafter, the island once again turned to agriculture for local consumption. In addition, the Spaniards introduced a pre-industrial economy based on the development of the sugarcane. The need for a labor force for sugar production brought more African slaves to the island. This industry, however, was shortlived because the markets it supplied no longer existed.

African slave labor was indispensable, which led to the development of a slave oligarchy among the landowners. Franklin Franco, in his book Los Negros, Los Mulatos, y La Nacion Dominicana (Blacks, Mulattos, and the Dominican Nation), states that "the speedy exhaustion of gold mines in the Hispaniola was a product of the extensive exhaustion, auriferous deposits of pettiness, in parallel with the aborigine extinction. In 1511, only 14,000 aborigines were alive to work in the agricultural development of the colony, especially in the farming of sugarcane, as important as gold was because of its high value and the importation of Black slaves" (Franco, 1970, p. 3).*

During the great part of the sixteenth century, "Hispaniola" only produced sugar. This resulted in the increase of Black slaves coming to the island and a transformation of its economy. When Spain was unable to provide the sugar industry with an adequate market, the island developed an economy based on "hatos" (the greater portion of land dedicated to cattle-raising). This period is known in Dominican history as the "Hetero society." The "hateros" found markets for cattle skins in Spain. This showed that any productive system in the colony depended upon the Spanish market to survive.

Spain and other European nations entered a conflict period that created obstacles for trade relations. France, Holland, England, and Spain were the most important participants. The Spaniards maintained a monopoly on all marketable products from the colony. Therefore, the nations in conflict with Spain smuggled goods. Portugal led in providing Europe with goods. But, "Portugal had difficulty developing an industry resembling that of Spain. The majority of the manufactured

articles in demand by local residents were produced by other countries and their costs were lower if obtained directly" (Moya Pons, 1974, p. 12).

The illicit trade or contraband was maintained in the North. People living in that zone were called the "Northern Neighbors" (Banda del Norte). Since smuggling was against Spain's interests, she tried to put a stop to it. The authorities tried to persecute the local smugglers, but they did not stop smuggling.

Behind the inability to stop the contraband was the income received by the colony. According to Moya Pons, in his book Colonial History of Santo Domingo, "In 1577, the illicit trade was the main source of income for people in the northern part of the colony. This situation created a different social and mental ethic between the 'Northern Neighbors' and the people of Santo Domingo City" (Moya Pons, 1974, pp. 113-114). It is obvious that the differences existing in the colony were based on the economic order. In Santo Domingo where the colonial authorities reside and had full control, contraband was never an issue. The "Northern Neighbors" were composed of Puerto Plata, La Yaguana, Montecristi, and other small nearby Hatos. The residents of this area were involved with contraband in order to survive. It was the only source of income for many years. Spanish authorities had underminded the "Northern Neighbors'" inability to progress among its constituencies, especially when that progress represented less revenues for the colonial rulers. The local government was unable to collect taxes from the illicit trade in the North, but it was not a concern that Spain shared. The Spanish kingdom was concerned with two particular aspects: (1) Spain's inability to obtain any revenues from the illicit trade, and (2) the way

such trade helped to weaken their European market. In addition, contraband thwarted Spain's efforts to control merchandise from the colony, such as cattle skins and ginger, which they obtained at very low prices.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Spanish government ordered the "Northern Neighbors" to resettle. People from the North were resettled in areas close to the city of Santo Domingo, called San Antonio de Monte Plata and San Juan Bautista de Bayaguana. This name came about from the combination of Puerto Plata with Montecristi, and Bayarda with Yaguana.

When the Spanish crown ordered the resettlement of the "Northern Neighbors," they left an empty region up for grabs. Buccaneers, inhabitants, and Black cimarroons used this opportunity for a very attractive business venture. These groups kept the smuggling business alive with England, Holland, and France as partners.

In the seventeenth century, the Spaniards abandoned the western part of the island which was by then taken over by buccaneers, pirates, and inhabitants or "Cultivadores" as they were called. This would eventually lead to the division of the island. During this same century, the island was renamed Santo Domingo. It was invaded by the English (1655), and pirates invaded the eastern towns of Azua and Santiago. According to Juan Bosch, in his book Composition Social Dominicana, "During the seventeenth century, all the history of Europe, in general, and Spain, in particular, that had been sowing in our social being since 1492 was concretized. What we are today is a function in great measure of what we became during those one hundred years" (Bosch, 1966, p. 63).* In spite of the importance of this century in Dominican history, little

has been written about it. After 1944, an attempt was made by a few historians to gather and publish facts about this century. "At best, it has merely been a reaction against the causes and effects of the loss of the western part of the island; therefore, the material researched has served to justify this loss and not to describe life during the seventeenth century" (Bosch, 1966, p. 63).*

The struggle between the English, the French, and the Dominican Spaniards over the island of Tortuga also occurred during the seventeenth century. The French won this conflict and then extended their power to the western portion of Santo Domingo, which would later be called Haiti. Although the buccaneers and the "Habitantes" inhabited the western part, "the island remained 'one and indivisible,' as Toussaint Louverture stated. For that reason, the history of buccaneers, the 'Habitantes' of the west, and the pirates belongs to the nation even though it is written in French. It is ours to the extent that it was developed on our land and because it greatly affected our destiny" (Bosch, 1966, p. 63).*

The origin of Haiti was supported by the French government and by the weakness of the Spanish empire. The fathers of Haiti were the "Habitantes" and the pirates. The buccaneer society disappeared with the disappearance of the cattle. The pirates took over the island of La Tortuga and converted it into a stronghold from where they attacked ships and the island of Santo Domingo. The "Habitantes," who were agriculturalists, proclaimed themselves owners of the lands which did not officially belong to them. The French later proclaimed ownership of La Tortuga and of the western part of Santo Domingo although they, too, lacked official ownership. It took Spain a short period of time to

realize its mistake on the resettlement of the "Northern Neighbors," but it was too late to do anything. French, as well as other settlers, occupied the abandoned area "with no interest in the occidental part of the island. The Spanish colonial government was obliged to recognize the French occupation in 1676 by signing the treaty of Nimega. Furthermore, in 1777, through the Aranjuez treaty, Spain (granted) ceded the occidental part of the island (Hispaniola) to France" (Balcacer, 1974, p. 24).* An analysis of the real reasons behind the recognition of Frenchmen on the Spanish colony soil should indicate the Spaniards' lack of power to maintain the colony.

The French development in the occidental part of the "Hispaniola" was one of the most prosperous colonies in the new world. According to Juan Daniel Balcacer, "In the Eastern part of Santo Domingo, during the whole seventeenth century, the economic production was based mainly in cattle raising and agriculture for mere subsistance. The occidental part of the island was controlled by the French. They developed an economy based on the plantation system. Under French control, this part of the island became the wealthiest Latin American colony of the epoch" (Balcacer, 1974, p. 24).*

Saint Domingue, as the occidental part of the island was called, emerged with the plantation system attached with the development of the sugar industry to create the objective condition to exploit Black slaves coming in great numbers to the French colony. According to Hilliard D'Anbertenil, "Since 1680, more than 800,000 Black slaves were introduced in Saint Domingue. This type of seedbed could reproduce millions of slaves; nevertheless, only 290,000 existed by 1776" (D'Anbertenil,

1976, pp. 144-145).*

Climate and adaptation or sickness were part of the reasons behind the low numbers of Black slaves, but the main reason had to do with the tyranny of their master.

The French, according to printed statistical data, developed in Saint Domingue an economy based on the production of sugar, coffee, and indigo which resulted in the following: ". . . There existed in 1789, 451 sugar establishments which produced 70 million pounds of white sugar, and 341 other establishments which produced 93 million pounds of crude sugar. There were 2,810 coffee plantations which produced 66 million pounds; and 3,097 indigo plantations whose production level reached one million pounds" (Pena Batlle, 1953, p. 37).* It is obvious that the profits being obtained in Haiti would encourage the French government to attempt to keep this section of the island at all costs. Some further figures would attest to this: "The total of the colony's imports from France and the United States was 200 million pounds (libras tornesa)" (p. 37).* Due to the total inversions and the rapid development of the French section of Santo Domingo (as the Hispaniola was called then), the colonizers were obligated to bring in more and more African slaves, without taking into account the danger this posed for the future control of power on the island. Who would imagine that one day a group of Black men would search out the most hidden spots of the island, free of the last white Frenchman, the symbol of oppression and slavery!

While the French colony in Santo Domingo prospered economically to the benefit of the plantocracy/slavocracy, the Spanish portion of the

island was economically paralyzed. By the seventeenth century, ". . . the tradition of luxury still survived but the insignificance and poverty to which the colony had sunk had made the city devoid of the splendor for which it was envied during the days of its commercial and political predominance" (Sumner-Welles, 1973, p. 20).* The only remnants of any importance which the Spanish section of Santo Domingo may have had was the fact that it remained the residence of the Governor-General, the seat of the Royal Audience and the Archbishop, and the general military base which was made up of twelve companies of Spanish veterans. Also, during this time, the inhabitants of the Spanish section were worried about the growth of the western section, where there resided 40,000 white colonizers and more than 100,000 African slaves. The conditions under which these slaves lived were horrible. The forced labor, the tortures at the merest sign of rebellion, and the general inhumane treatment were daily routine for these slaves.

The French Revolution of 1789 was the inspirational spark which generated the Haitian revolution. The French Revolution had international repercussions because it proclaimed the rights of man before the law regardless of color. In 1790, Vincente Oge and Juan Bautista Chavanne led a revolt aimed at achieving more humane treatment for the slaves and participation of mulattoes in the government of the island. This revolution was quelled by the French, and its leaders Oge and Chavanne escaped to the Spanish section of the island. They were later turned over to the French authorities by Governor Garcia. The French executed them and hanged their heads above the two main streets of the colony to serve as an example of the population. Shortly afterward,

there was an even bloodier uprising which led to the French occupation of the island in 1801. The French government sent 22,000 troops under the leadership of Leclerc to quell the slave uprisings.

During this time, Toussaint Louverture had crossed over to the eastern portion of the island and had declared it "one and indivisible." He represented the French government, come to power as the result of a revolution with liberal ideas. This French government was in agreement with the mulattoes' participation in the government of the colony and with the freeing of the slaves. It is interesting to note that Toussaint's comment that the island was "one and indivisible" was based on the fact that in June of 1795, the Spanish government had surrendered the Spanish portion of the island to France in the Treaty of Basille.

The slavery system of Saint Domingue submitted Black slaves to all types of torture and hard labor. These elements created the social condition for slaves to revolt on different occasions, finally culminating in the general uprising against the French in 1790. It was not until 1804 that the Black slaves obtained their freedom and, in addition, gave birth to the independence of the Republic of Haiti. The complete narration of this historical event requires a serious research effort. Therefore, because of the nature of this work and of the author's limitations, only a select but important segment of the history is inserted for clarification purposes. It is important to point out that, "It is impossible to understand the Dominican historical process without a clear vision of what happened in the French colony of Saint Domingue" (Franco, 1970).*

When Napoleon Bonaparte took over the government of France, he obtained the state of Louisiana in the United States from the Spanish,

and he needed more slaves to exploit this land in North America. Napoleon was aware of the fact that the liberation of the slaves in Haiti would serve as a stimulus for other slaves in other parts of the continent. Therefore, he reestablished slavery in Haiti, which caused more problems in that colony and lead to its great slave uprising. The French were defeated in 1804, and France lost an opportunity to exploit an important portion of North America when that new nation purchased Louisiana. The independence of Haiti was proclaimed. Ferrand, the General in charge of the French troops in the Spanish portion of the island, refused to obey the order given by the French governor to return to France. He began to organize the eastern part of the island. "The three years of progressive administration by Ferrand are the most significant in the history of the incipient Dominican nation. They signified a stepping stone for change, which in later years would produce the tragic budding of bloody revolutions and wavering governments" (Franco, 1970, p. 51).*

The Dominicans rebelled against the Ferrand regime on October 26, 1808, under the leadership of Don Juan Sanchez Ramirez, who proclaimed the reconquest of the eastern sector of El Seibo. The French troops surrendered to the English who had surrounded the island, and the latter then turned over the power to the Dominicans, who named Sanchez Ramirez as their Governor-General. However, he immediately tried to obtain the support of the Spanish colonists in America who were fighting to break their ties to Spain. Simultaneously, revolutionary movements were breaking out all over Latin America: Buenos Aires, Caracas, Neuva Granada, and Mexico. The cry for "liberty and independence raised by

Bolivar and San Martin announced the death of Spanish dominance in America. Santo Domingo, upon freeing itself from France, should then have asked to be admitted into the Spanish stall" (Franco, 1970, p. 56).* Upon his return to power, Fernando VII established a despotic rule and suspended all the promises which had been made in his name. The person sent to govern the Spanish Santo Domingo around 1814, General Urrutia, governed with an iron fist. He was later replaced (1820) by a more liberal governor who eased the conditions on the island somewhat.

During this time, important changes were also taking place in Haiti. Petion, Haiti's President, had died in 1818; and General Jean Pierre Boyer was elected President. Boyer, as Toussaint Louverture did, believed that the island should be "one and indivisible" and began to make preparations for an invasion of the Spanish portion of the island. At the end of 1821, the Dominicans proclaimed the ephemeral independence which lasted a very short time. The leader of this movement, Jose Nunez de Caceres, surrendered the keys of the city of Santo Domingo to General Boyer two months later; and the Haitian rule of the eastern portion of the island lasted until 1844. The slavocracy lost its lands and slaves with the redistribution of the land under Haitian rule and the slaves were freed. The slaveowners were, therefore, determined to overthrow the Haitian regime. They were successful in doing so after the arrival of Juan Pablo Duarte from Europe in 1838. Duarte worked with the Trinitaria for five years to achieve the division of the island, and this wish was realized on February 27, 1844. (Although Duarte was the leader of the Trinitaria movement, he was not in the country at the time of the revolution because he had been exiled abroad.)

The Dominican Republic was created on that day, and all efforts were directed at overcoming the Haitians. Therefore, there was also lack of a plan for government. The power struggles of a few individuals, like General Pedro Santana, annulled the independence with the reannexation to Spain of the embryonic republic.

February 27 is celebrated annually with much aplomb and awareness by Dominicans wherever they may be. In New York City, the Dominican community celebrates the entire last week of February, which is called "Dominican Week." This celebration has been recognized by city government and school districts.

The Dominican Racial Setting: Frame of Reference

Cultural diversity in the Dominican Republic is framed by a pattern of integration between the different cultures which coincide in this sociohistorical panorama. The development of Dominican society to the present is no different from the process followed during its prehistory by different native groups which, although from common Arawak stock, exhibited different patterns of behavior in many aspects. As they migrated to the island of Santo Domingo, the natives developed a process of cultural integration which coincided with their "modus vivendi." One fundamental element to document this process of diversity and integration is concentrated in the motor element of culture, and, particularly, language. Veloz Maggiolo states that: "Because the Arawak tongue consists of a group of dialects without true unity, although derived from a common mother trunk, it is neither true that the continental dialect

was spoken in the Antilles nor that it was common to all islands. The aboriginal groups must have understood each other, on first contact, because of the original etymologies of the mother tongue, or of similar derivations and words in the dialects. This is clear and demonstrated by the fact that, for example, the so-called 'Ciguayos' spoke, along with the 'Macoriges,' dialects different from the island dialect" (Veloz Maggiolo, 1974, p. 16).* The focus of this present exposition is neither to go into detail on the development of the native culture nor to engage in a linguistic study of that period, but rather to make some observations on Dominican cultural diversity.

To understand the prehistory is to know in detail part of the historical and cultural development of a people. Therefore, understanding the process of cultural diversity and integration of the groups which coincide in the idiosyncracy of the Dominican is of fundamental importance in knowing its origins and development.

To advance erroneous and outmoded conceptions about the native culture can foster lack of knowledge about the true extent of native contributions in the lay person. On this particular point, Bernardo Vega cautions us: "One should not exaggerate the Indian element in our culture. Genetic factors, in and of themselves, explain the weightier influence of the European and African cultures in the formation of ours. Nevertheless, if justice is to be done, what is most amazing is the endurance of some cultural forms inherited from the Indians, even though the period of contact was so short" (Vega, 1981, p. 12).*

The Arawak and African ethnicities converge on the island of Santo Domingo and, paradoxically, undergo the same linguistic process in

relatively analogous circumstances. The natives, as well as the Africans, spoke different dialects among themselves, making communication difficult at times, but at the same time enriching the linguistic development of the island. "The African and the Indian elements fused, without a doubt, producing from the very beginning hybrid situations which the Blacks continued to pass on in the island of Santo Domingo and in the other Antilles" (Vega, 1981, p. 20).*

To clearly understand this embryonic cultural diversity in the island of Santo Domingo, it is necessary to go deeper into the native system of everyday interaction and into their conceptions about family and clan. It is important to add that this original hybrid quality of the inhabitants of Santo Domingo is not an isolated case. Marvin Harris, in his "Patterns of Race in the Americas" (1974), points out that: "The people and cultures of all the American nations are to some extent hybrid products of centuries of racial and cultural mixture" (Harris, 1974, p. 1).

With the arrival of the Spaniard to the New World, a new link is added to the history of the development of the race. The Spaniard not only becomes a new element in these lands, but also introduces the African, creating in this fusion of the native, the African and the Spanish races, a new racial variety. These mixtures constitute without a doubt the foundation of the Dominican racial edifice.

This racial order consolidates, through immersion, the social entity which responds to the name of Dominican. Without a doubt, this very pattern is reproduced elsewhere in the Americas, with the difference that in some of those other countries the natives survived, and that in others

the limited introduction of the Black African slaves impeded the full development of the mulatto as an important element of their racial constitution. Harris asserts that: "In order to understand the present-day distribution of racial and cultural types in the New World, the variable which initially deserves emphasis is the nature of the aboriginal societies with which the Europeans came into contact. One of the most important features of the American environment from the point of view of the European colonist, whether Conquistadores or pilgrims, was not the climate or the typography. It was, instead, the level of socio-cultural integration characteristic of the Amerindian societies with which the European were obliged to interact" (Harris, 1974, pp. 2-3).

Language is indisputably the most important link in the cultural development of a people. Language in the native culture becomes hybrid, thus setting a precedent for the introduction of Spanish and African structures (grammar), intonation, accent, word, and gesture (non-verbal signs) as elements of rupture within the native vernacular.

With the discovery of America in 1492, a history of cultural domination began which will atrophy the model or mode of local life.

The natives of the island of Santo Domingo organized their society in "cacicazgos," with a communal economy based on the distribution of production according to need. The production tasks were performed by the "naborias" or workers. Farming was a female occupation. The "nitainos" took charge of the chase, fishing and the defense of the village; the "cacique" planned; and the "behique" healed and provided spiritual guidance to the tribe.

The form and types of agricultural work, implements, and products are still in the present perennial proof of the influence of the native culture: "In an eminently agricultural country, as the Dominican Republic still is, continuing to use mostly traditional methods, the importance of the slash-and-burn clearing techniques and of the 'conuco' cannot be underestimated. Both were inherited from the Indians" (Vega, 1981, p. 12).* This shows without a doubt that even in the twentieth century the Dominicans continue to practice modalities of aboriginal farming techniques.

The African slaves played a preponderant role in preserving the native farming techniques and way of life: "By the time the Antillean Indians became extinguished, the African had managed to learn the techniques to cultivate the yucca and to prepare the cassava bread. Thus the slash-and-burn clearing techniques common among the Taino Indians were passed on to posterity in the island of Santo Domingo. That his farming method was indiscriminately practiced by sugar mill owners in order to sustain the labor force which produced gold and sugar in the seventeenth century becomes evident in the 1606 census when of 9,648 slaves only 888 worked in sugar mills and in domestic service; the rest worked primarily on the ginger, cassava, and corn farms" (Vega, 1981, p. 12). We understand that the "guayiga," from which "chola" is manufactured, can be added to these contributions. Tobacco, along with corn and peanuts, is also an important Taino agricultural contribution. According to Veloz Maggiolo: "All indigenous products of Santo Domingo survived; yams, the 'funde,' and other African agricultural products came only to complements, items which still today figure prominently in

the Dominican daily diet--the sweet potato, the 'yautia' (dhautia), the 'guayiga', the 'Jagua', the 'jobo', corn, the 'liren', peanuts, even yucca itself, and a variety of hot and sweet peppers. Later on, plantains and rice would be added to these products" (Vega, 1981, p. 12).*

Both the African and the native were utilized as fundamental elements of the colonial labor force. Thus we find Africans using native implements, utensils, and even techniques when they assimilate social experiences linked to the surrounding medium: "the canoe, a most important element of transportation; the hammock, a hanging amazonic bed; fishing systems which used 'barbasco' (great mullein) poison; smoking as a way to preserve meat; the 'maraca' rattle for their festivities; palm fiber basketry which includes the 'macuto' knapsack, an important item in the transportation of goods, and the sleeping mat; the conch, used as a warning trumpet, etc." (p. 12). These experiences were absorbed by the African who managed to preserve these important elements of native life. Culture is defined most simply as a way of live; then cultural diversity concentrates, in essence, on different patterns of life, with characteristics which allow them to subsist as a whole. We can thus notice how the Arawak, African, and Spanish cultures survive the passage of time, the different degrees of recognition given them through the ages, cultural castration, and immersion. Cultural values are defined within a framework of domination in a given society, but the traditional elements of longstanding projections remain latent in the minds of Dominicans serving as parameters to measure the cultural horizon of our people.

The natives, with their agricultural system, their language, and their foodstuffs, left indelible footprints on the Dominican cultural panorama. The Africans, either pure or mulatto, reformulated (to the extent of the possible) part of their cultural heritage on Dominican soil. Even within the surrounding limitations, they projected, as time went on, their cultural strength and their place in the history of these lands. The Spaniards transformed (maybe even without having set out to do so) their original culture, and, still more importantly, produced a new racial element adapted to living in the tropical latitudes. This in no way underestimates the cultural contributions of other immigrants whose presence in the Dominican cultural panorama is beyond question.

During the sixteenth century, merciless treatment by the Spanish colonists contributed to the extermination of the native. History points out the forced mine labor, the indiscriminate abuses of the Spanish colonists, and the disintegration of the kinship structure as the main causes for the Taino holocaust. Hugo Tolentino, in his Raza e Historia en Santo Domingo (Race and History in Santo Domingo, 1974), pointed out that: "In Santo Domingo, the Indians disappeared, for practical purposes, halfway through the sixteenth century. Of the 200,000 or more original inhabitants, in 1548, according to Oviedo, only about 500 remained between children and adults who were natives and of the same stock or descent as those first ones" (Tolentino, 1974, p. 54).* This holocaust limited the possible cultural impact of the native culture on the development of the colony and in the subsequent formation of the nation.

Forced sexual relations between natives and Spaniards resulted in the proliferation of the mestizo, the persecuted and discriminated-against half-breed victim of the "blood purity" prejudice wielded by the colonizer later on. Usually, the development of sexual relations was framed within patterns of domination and oppression. Paraphrasing Bartolome Las Casas, Tolentino points out the following: "Sexual contacts between Spaniards and female Indians were inscribed within a context of brutality which allowed the lewdness of single Spanish men in need of women to be expressed in rapes and violations" (Tolentino, 1974, p. 54).* Part of the extermination of the native was due to contraction of European diseases and to concrete situations of oppression which pushed them to collective suicide, or to rebellion. The death of many came through the exploitative and violent nature of contact with Spaniards. These constituted an important element in their disappearance. Ignorance about the new diseases carried by the colonist and low metabolic defenses or antibodies created the conditions which allowed those illnesses to make a considerable dent in the native population.

The slaves replaced the natives in the gold mines. The same lot fell to them; victims of humiliation and discrimination, they proliferated the island. The result of the exploitation of this group was different from those of the native inhabitants. The Spaniards' growing need for labor was satisfied by importation of huge numbers of Black slaves. Slavery triggered a process of deculturation. The Africans, away from their environment, had to adapt to the existing conditions and to develop a completely new system of values: "The Indian will have to adapt to the new process or perish; the European, direct creator of this

process, will have to organize it around personnel with an outlook on reality thoroughly different from that of the European Renaissance" (Veloz Maggiolo, 1977, p. 30).* The Spaniards' feelings of racial superiority have them construe the native and Black races as inferior. It is no coincidence that in the historical development of America the racial differences between natives, mestizos, and Blacks are elaborated into a host of racist theses. Both the native and the African were immersed in a process of cultural assimilation imposed and sustained by the military superiority of the colonizers, who controlled power in the islands. The result of this process is evident in the study of the cultural history of the colonized islands.

As early as the sixteenth century, colonists from the Canary Islands, "canarios" or "islenos," roamed the island of Santo Domingo as colonists, having arrived initially as workers performing different tasks in the sugar manufacturing industry. By the end of the seventeenth century, "the Crown itself had planned several waves of immigration and cities and ghettoes had been founded." Such is the history of the rise of the San Carlos Quarter on the eastern part of the capital city. According to Hoetink, in El Pueblo Dominicano (The Dominican People, 1972), "Halfway through the seventeenth century, new blood was infused into San Carlos again by honest and laborious immigrants from the Canary Islands. By the end of the nineteenth century, San Carlos had become part of the urban complex of Santo Domingo, although it had preserved its own identity" (Hoetink, 1972, p. 55).*

The Canarian groups populated other parts of the island of Santo Domingo, among them the city of Samana, abandoned and repopulated by the

Canarians in 1756, and Sabana de la Mar in that same year. The new settlers were given plantations and cattle by the colonial authorities. Later, in 1764, the Canarians, together with the Spanish and Dominican landowners, founded the city of Bani. According to Hoetink, this city can be called "the Dominican Little Canary, having maintained a cleaner Spanish lineage, to the point that until a few years back there were no people of color living there" (Hoetink, 1972, p. 55).* Monte Cristi and Puerto Plata were other Canarian settlements on the island.

After the signing of the Treatise of Basilea, Santo Domingo became attractive to groups of Sephardic Jews from Curacoa who settled in various points of the island. By the nineteenth century, Jewish immigrants had settled in the eastern part of the island. Reliable proof attests to this fact: "The tombstone considered to be the oldest in what was the Jewish section of the cemetery on Independence Avenue in the capital says: 'Jacob Pardo, Natif de Amsterdam, age 46 and, decede 6 December 1826. Avec regret de sa famille et amis' (Jacob Pardo, Native of Amsterdam, 46 years old, died on December 6, 1826. With the regrets of his family and friends.)" (Hoetink, 1972, pp. 47-48).*

The formation of the Dominican state in 1844 marks the beginning of the prominent participation of the Jews in the Dominican Republic through their houses of commerce: "Around 1830, during the period of Haitian domination, the Rothschild House of Commerce from Saint Thomas established an affiliate in Santo Domingo under the name of Rothschild and Cohen. But it is primarily during the 1840s, and especially after independence in 1844, that the presence of Sephardic Jews (almost without exception from Curacao) became most noticeable" (Hoetink, 1972,

pp. 47-48).* They contributed most notably to the financing of the independence of the Dominican Republic. Afterwards, they controlled the financial policies of the young republic. The decadence of their economic impact is linked to their assimilation to everyday Dominican life: "As the Jews were absorbed into the top social stratum of the epoch, they began to lose their economic ethos, adopting the economical mentality of those who would much rather invest their riches in houses and real estate, and who chose for their male offspring the traditional academic preparation of doctor or lawyer over the preparation for a business career. As soon as more important government positions were occupied by them, their interest in commerce was relegated to a second plane" (Hoetink, 1972, p. 54). The economic and political contributions of Sephardic Jews were of great importance to the island, including their first incursions into it and their direct participation in the formation and development of the nation.

Cubans and Puerto Ricans also participated in the development of Dominican culture within the framework of the political life of the "sister colonies." The colonial situation, under which Cuba and Puerto Rico lived, impelled their best and most notable sons to fight for their islands' liberty. For this reason, tireless fighters, like Betances and Hostos, were found in Dominican exile working together in the formation of one nation: "Numerous Puerto Ricans lived in the city (Santo Domingo). The two immigrant groups, according to liberty-loving Dominicans, worked resolutely to bring about the independence of Cuba (already up in arms) and the projected insurrection of Puerto Rico. Ramon Emeterio Betances conducted important affairs for the Dominican

government from his Paris residence. Hostos established several journals, among them Las Dos Antillas, Las Tres Antillas, and Los Antillanos" (Hoetink, 1972, p. 60).* He also participated in the development of Dominican national education. During this period, the Cuban revolutionary delegation resided in Santo Domingo: "Thousands of Cubans conspired against the Spanish government. Cubans and Puerto Ricans received excellent, free properties from the Dominican government, as well as other incentives for investment. Eugenio Maria de Hostos, the pedagogue, speaks of 'an immigration of the owners of capitals who, fleeing the imminent ruin which had threatened them in Cuba and Puerto Rico, came to take advantage of the free concessions of excellent land offered them'" (Hoetink, 1972, p. 61).* The Puerto Ricans and Cubans, of which 107 were heads of family, arrived in Santo Domingo (p. 63). These groups of Puerto Ricans and Cubans assimilated the patterns of behavior of the Dominican, integrating themselves in a very short time to the daily life of the budding nation.

During this domination of the island (1822-1844), the Haitians initiated the importation of immigrants with the purpose of populating areas of the island which had either been abandoned or never populated. When President Boyer decided to bring freed Blacks from North America, he sent Jonathan Granville to New York to be the agent who would secure the human resources necessary to develop settlements in Santo Domingo. Granville "was authorized to offer to whomever wanted to emigrate to the island of Haiti a free trip, free lodging and board for four months, and 36 acres of farmland for every twelve workers" (Hoetink, 1972, p. 44).* Between 6,000 and 13,000 accepted the offer in Philadelphia.

They came primarily from that and other urban centers. Part of these recruits returned to the United States after a short stay in Santo Domingo. Hoetink tells us that: "On account of the difficulties of adaptation, brought about by the climate and culture of the new country, some of them returned very shortly. About another third of the original contingent (illnesses created by the climate) perished in a short time" (Hoetink, 1972, p. 45).*

These Afro-American immigrants settled in the capital, Santiago, Puerto Plata, and Samana. Their presence in Samana had a strong impact on the population, creating a situation where patterns of behavior had to be revised. Between 500 and 600 remained living in the area of the beautiful bay of Samana where they made a living as farmers. Their religious organization received aid from the Wesleyan Methodist Church of England. They organized their own English-language school system, which compared favorably with the Dominican national system. In short, these Afro-American immigrants organized a strong population nucleus. The cohesion provided by their religion and their language gave them grounds to feel themselves superior to the Dominicans, and they tried to prevent assimilation. Dominicans, in turn, recognized them as different linguistically and religiously and referred to them as "Cocolo." This notwithstanding, by 1870, the Afro-American immigrants had become assimilated in regions like the capital and Puerto Plata. This came about for two reasons: (1) They learned the language, and (2) they established marital ties with Dominican nationals. This process of assimilation was not completed in Samana until the end of the last century. No public recognition was given this immigrant group until Ulises Heureaux,

President of the Dominican Republic, appointed General Anderson as Governor of Samana. This immigrant group's most important contributions were in the fields of education and health. For example, "the first professional nurse was Mrs. Margaret Mearse, from Puerto Plata, wife of a Protestant pastor at the end of the last century" (Hoetink, 1972, p. 47). English-speaking Caribbean immigrants arrived at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century lured by the incipient sugar industry. At present, the cultural influence of the Afro-American and English-speaking Caribbean immigrants mainly from the Virgin Island is widespread throughout the whole Dominican Republic. Within this diversity of racial groups interacting within the Dominican Republic, one can speak not only of a hybrid national culture which provides the patterns within which these cultures are framed, but also (in as much as there are places in this Caribbean island where these same cultural influences project themselves distinctively) an element of diversity which marks distinctions and strengthens the national culture.

Arabs (Lebanes, Syrians, and Palestinians) joined the Dominican nation around the same time as the "cocolos" from the Virgin Islands and other English-speaking Caribbean islands. They developed an itinerant commerce in the agricultural and other rural zones.

Within the twentieth century, Chinese migration completes the cultural and racial picture of the Dominican Republic. Undoubtedly, Dominicans are a rare mixture of people centered in the Caribbean with a hybrid composition from the most diverse cultures in the world. By understanding the above-stated process, one can be sensitized to understand the turbulent social history of this small nation named

The Dominican Republic. This also would serve as a base to comprehend in an historical framework the Dominican educational system, without making a common mistake of comparing it with the analogous educational system of the Americas.

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CHAPTER IV

MAJOR EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The Educational System

From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, the process of construction of the national educational system unfolded alongside the rise of the bourgeoisie to power. During the same period, the "science of bourgeois education" developed "from the ideas of John Locke (published in 1693) to modern pedagogy, that is, the ideology of school as a 'unified system,' as a 'channel for social ascent'" (Vasconi, 1977, p. 11).* We understand, then, how education comes to serve as ideological support for societies which make schooling the way to accelerate or curtail the process through which a people search for a better way of life. We speak very much of education as a way to create competent citizens; but what do we really mean by this, if in practice we negate the very evolution of education? According to Donald Sala, "We imply that one way or the other society will remain as is, and that we must prepare the child to participate in it. But society never stops changing, even within the most traditional of cultures. Those who move to change it do so with the desire to modify the process of socialization of their children (and ultimately of the world) in changing the educational system. In other words, the formation of future citizens means, quite literally, the construction of a future society" (Sala, 1980, p. 210). That is, "Every society designs and implements an educational system which agrees with its own nature and which offers the necessary

and sufficient instruments to ensure its own continuity" (Fernandez, 1980, p. 5).* Other authors reaffirm the theses enunciated above. For example, Kohlbert points out that "Educational theories are more than an exposition of psychological principles; they are ideologies in their own right, their educationally soundness and worth aside" (Sala, 1980, p. 231).

We can see, in synthesis, the similarity between the expositions of Sala, Kohlberg, Fernandez, and Vasconi, to cite only a few educational theorists who understand that education really responds to the dominant class. Education is an instrument that serves the minority which controls power. We understand that education could have a more altruistic goal if it were a spontaneous function of society as a whole. In developed countries, education provides society with qualified workers who will be able to develop the necessary skills to handle the incipient technological complex. "Those 'specific functions' develop in two principal dimensions: securing a labor force and developing its 'skills,' and in imposing and defining the ideologically and culturally dominant forms" (Vasconi, 1977, p. 13).*

Around the world, there are many educational systems. Third World countries are similar with shortages of teachers, classrooms, funds, and educational materials. There are shortages of everything but students. This is the educational history of underdeveloped countries: shortages of all sorts of items for everyday consumption, and in education. The less enlightened a society, the easier the task of domination. For this reason, in conclusion, it would be very difficult to blame teachers and administrators for the negative results of the educational system,

when it really responds to the class interests for which it was created. Otherwise it would amount to little less than blaming the victims. "Every society needs certain controls over the way in which its members are socialized and educated, if it is at all going to ensure its continuity. This is the only way to ensure the efficient functioning of the system," whether it is capitalist or socialist (Vasconi, 1977, p. 7).*

Dominican Education Before and After the North American Intervention (1916-1924)

To understand the fundamental changes in national education during the 1916-1924 intervention, it is only proper to outline several educational trends which characterized Dominican culture from the colonial period to the wars of independence and from the nation's independence in February of 1844 to the first military intervention of the United States in 1916.

In 1583, Pope Paul III established the University of Saint Thomas Aquinas through the IN APOSTOLATUS CULMINE bull. Official higher education was thus initiated in the Hispaniola. The Dominican friars had already initiated the private instruction of many of the inhabitants of the island of Santo Domingo. During this period, the teaching of grammar and Castillian was considered fundamental for understanding the Holy Scriptures. The critic and poet Abelardo Vicioso tells us that: "In order to facilitate the purposes of the spiritual conquest, the Spanish Crown sent to the Indies appropriate literary materials. A royal order, dated April 22, 1513, instructed the Chamber of Commerce to send the

Grammar teacher at La Espanola: twenty quires of paper and ten volumes of gospels and homilies" (Vicioso, 1979, p. 38). The written manuals and Christian doctrines were important foundations of colonial education. The book Doctrina Cristiana Para La Instruccion De Indios (Christian Doctrine for the Instruction of Indians), written in 1520 by Fray Pedro de Cordoba, was published in Mexico as early as 1544. According to the Dominican philosopher Juan Francisco Sanchez, Fray Pedro de Cordoba used a narrative modality to instill Christian philosophy and value in the Indian mentality.

In 1540, secular education was instituted with the establishment of the Colegio de Gorjon (Gorjon College), endowed with funds from the estate of Hernando Gorjon, a landowner. In 1550, this college was granted official recognition through a royal warrant under the name Universidad de Santiago de la Paz y de Gorjon (Santiago de la Paz and Gorjon University). The program of study at these centers had as models Spanish universities such as Salamanca. Both classical and theological subjects were covered, primarily Latin and Spanish grammars and theology. Theology students from diverse points in the Americas attended Santo Tomas de Aquino University during the colonial period in order to perfect their studies and pursue successful careers both in America and Spain itself.

Through a 1748 papal bull, the De la Paz and Gorjon University became part of the educational system which the Jesuits developed in the Americas in the eighteenth century. This educational center has been popularly known among Dominicans as the Jesuit University.

Lamentably, education today still follows medieval and renaissance practices in private and public education. Education is primarily promoted by family needs and rests on the economical possibilities of those who desire a better academic formation for their offspring. There is very little information about the organization of the educational system, except that which concerns higher education. Certain minimal references can, however, be found in letters, historical accounts, and period documents.

It is evident that the social organization of the colony, because of its class structure, was never in need of a corps of pedagogues who could serve the totality of the population. Rather, it only needed a private, one-track system geared to solving the problems of the dominant class whose properties and riches demanded a minimum of formal education that would allow them to fulfill political, religious, and social duties.

In a society whose misery is still acute, because during the seventeenth century the island colonies were forsaken by the metropolis, today more than 90 percent of the population lives off subsistence farming. They lack both a network of written communication and also any need for cultural communication outside that which has already been codified by traditions and customs, either of colonial origin or imported by the Spanish peninsular.

An innovative spirit in Dominican culture is only evident from 1821 on. During that year, Jose Nunez de Caceres and a group of Dominicans declared independence from Spain and attempted to create a sovereign state which would represent the ideals of a small, budding

bourgeoisie. The foundation of the new state was as short-lived as its declaration of independence. In 1822, Jean Pierre Boyer, President of the neighboring Republic of Haiti, invaded Dominican territory, interrupting the Dominican plans for independence. It is worth mentioning that one of the most significant acts of Nunez de Caceres as President was to reopen the University of Saint Tomas Aquino in 1821. Throughout the period of Haitian domination, that institution had not been functioning, having been closed either by the new authorities or by the lack of interest of Dominicans themselves.

To understand the process of Dominican education during the period of Haitian occupation (1822-1844), one must point out that the unification of the Haitian and Dominican systems was never a reality. Numerous cultural factors justified this lack of integration:

(1) The Haitian educational system exclusively served the French-speaking elite who organized their life according to French models; the great majority of Haitians, more than 95 percent, spoke Creole, a language of recent formation for which neither texts nor curriculum existed. A similar situation exists even today. (Although there are a few texts, curricula Creole has just been named an official language along with French in the new Haitian constitution.)

(2) Hispanic and Spanish Creole traditions prevailed in the Dominican Republic under the Haitian occupation. French and Haitian Creole was researched as a language or cultural channel that could compete with

the Spanish tongue. Haiti, which did not even have enough personnel to implement a French program (let alone a Creole one) in the western part of the island, could never implement an assimilation program which would incorporate Dominicans into any system different from the traditional colonial system which we have sketched in previous paragraphs.

(3) By comparison, the unity of the Spanish language prevented the French cultural currents from becoming consolidated as educational models for the Spanish part of the island. It is interesting to point out that even during the period of French domination over the Spanish area of the island (less than ten years from the Treatise of Basilea, 1795), French educational forms were not consolidated, although this phenomenon notably modified subsequent legal codes adopted and sanctioned during the Republican period and still prevailing.

As is readily noticeable, the Dominican educational system (if one can call it that) stayed within private, not public, guidelines which responded to the previous colonial scheme. During the Haitian domination, well-to-do families looked toward Spain as a formative metropolis for the study and development of ideas. It was Madrid, rather than nineteenth century Paris, which welcomed personalities like Juan Pablo Duarte, whose ideas generated the first organizations rebelling against Haitian domination. It is not easy to establish how pedagogical contents

were developed from 1835 on, when, in the researcher's opinion, the idea of a Dominican nationality began to mature. There is evidence that the necessity for an educational system to be instituted once liberation from Haiti was achieved circulated among the liberators and culminated in 1838 with the establishment of the Secret Society called The Trinity.

According to Veloz Maggiolo: "Republican education was regulated on the 27th of June of the year 1845 with the creation of grammar and normal schools in Santo Domingo, Bani, San Cristobal, Los Llanos, Monte Plata, Bayaguana, Seybo, Higuey, Samana, Azua, Neyba, Santiago, La Vega, Puerto Plata, San Jose de las Matas, Moca, San Francisco de Macoris, and Cotui" (Veloz Maggiolo, 1977, pp. 42-43). Other authors reinforce this position. According to Nancy Foxworthy: "The educational declaration of 1845 called for one primary school to be set up in each of the more populated communities and two in the provincial capital. Classes were separated by sex and attendance was voluntary" (Foxworthy, 1976, p. 3). Nevertheless, these schools functioned precariously and sometimes not at all because the new republic lacked resources to sustain a national network. Rodriguez Demorizi has pointed out that the poet Nicolas Urena de Mendoza used to tell the story that around the time "the backwardness was due to the lack of teaching elements and utensils, since there were neither books, nor ink, nor paper, nor pens, nor notebooks, etc." (Foxworthy, 1976, p. 3). In 1848, the Seminario Conciliar de Santo Tomas (Saint Thomas Conciliar Seminary) already functioned. Its contribution was more important from 1868 on. In 1852, the Colegio de San Buenaventura (Saint Bonaventure College) initiated

its short, but important, existence.

Referring to this period, Hoetink points out that: "In reality, the expenses for public primary instruction had to be defrayed by the poor town and city councils" (Hoetink, 1972, pp. 229-230).* This piece of information allows the researcher to surmise that the first national education system was not implemented by a nationwide agency, such as the Department of State, but through schools linked to city councils and town meetings, which shouldered the cost relying on their meager income. As the above-quoted author points out, in 1871 and even afterwards, the central state contributed very little to education. This was even documented in the critique of Pedro F. Bono in 1877, when the Ministry of Justice and Education had already been created.

Private schoools had more success than the official system. On January 11, 1854, Fermin Bastida founded what could very well be the first Liceo Musical during the republican period. In 1855, the French and Latin School of M. Pierrot also functioned as a private school a year before the Ateneo Dominicano (Dominican Atheneum) had been founded with a school of the same name in a building paid by the Dominican government.

By 1860, private educational centers had proliferated in the capital and in the second most important city, Santiago. Official centers had also grown. A census of that period counted 332 girls and 329 boys in 35 private and public schools. Of these 35 schools, only 4 were run by the capital's city council; the other 31 were private. Rodriguez Demorizi points out, in a note published in the April 15, 1860 Revista Quincenal Dominicana, that one can find the following data on

education in the city of Santo Domingo: "Taking 12,000 souls as the population sample, conservative estimates allow us to suppose that one-fifth is still of school age. From this fifth, that is 2,400 boys and girls who need education, there are 661 in school. Let us suppose that on top of that there are 39 receiving instruction personally from their parents. We will then have 700 instead of 661 who are engaged in learning. In this case, we can conclude that approximately 29 youngsters out of every 100 are receiving instruction" (Rodriguez Demorizi, 1975).*

This datum allows the researcher to surmise that only 29 percent of the school-age population in 1860 attended school or received instruction. Seventy-one percent of the school-age population was illiterate.

The data offered by Hoetink, in his book El Pueblo Dominicano, for the same period elevate the rate of illiteracy for the population at large as higher than 80 percent.

Within the process of school growth, and because the possibilities for installing learning institutions were determined by the revenues of town and city councils, education grew disproportionately. A dichotomy between the urban and rural areas was established early on, sometimes even between progressive and backward sectors within the rural zone itself. Government policy had a more marked impact on the urban zones.

It is important to highlight the moral characteristics of the private and public sectors of the Dominican school system during this period. Elements like honesty, respect towards the elder, trustworthiness, and knowledge of the basic rules of courtesy were considered part of the field of knowledge along with reading, orthography, arithmetic, geography, grammar, physiology, world and national history. Corporal

punishment, according to Hoetink, were part of this pedagogic system; they included the whip, the slap, standing up for long hours, "Corbatas de Y agua" displayed during class hours, kneeling, etc. Corporal punishment was finally prohibited in the General Law of Public Education of 1895. Many of the schools were open for classes for only six months a year.

In 1879, during the provisional government of Gregorio Luperon, Eugenio Maria de Hostos wrote in Puerto Plata the legislation which created normal schools, although (as Hoetink points out) in the capital several schools with a secondary level were already functioning: the Conciliar Seminary of Saint Thomas, directed by Father Arturo de Merino; and the San Luis Gonzaga (High) School, founded by Father Francisco Javier Billini and others.

The Instituto de Senoritas (Institute for Young Ladies), founded by Salome Urena de Henriquez in 1881, played an important role in educating female grammar school teachers. This center achieved reknown status and produced, along with the Normal School for males founded by Hostos, important teachers who consolidated Dominican education in the late years of the nineteenth century.

Hostos and the Dominican Republic Education System

Since the beginning of the republican period, the educational system has been incapable of achieving its stated philosophical mission of educating Dominican citizens while keeping pace with the scientific advancements of the times. A year after the inauguration of the Republic on the 27th of February in 1844, the first educational law was

promulgated on May 12, 1845. It responded to Articles 29 and 211 of the Constitution of the Dominican Republic, which promoted teaching in Dominican territory. According to Jimenez Grullo: "When independence was achieved, the people were to a higher or lesser degree the owners of the land" (Jimenez Grullon, 1974, p. 41). However, what was the reality of this ownership if the people were illiterate at the time. That handicap greatly impaired their capability to develop in the mercantile, social, and cultural arenas. On this particular point, the above-quoted author tells us that: "The population was illiterate and scarce. At that time, according to Mr. Hogan (a North American who acted as Commercial agent), the Dominican Republic had approximately 230,000 inhabitants of whom 100,000 were white, 400,000 Black, and the rest Mestizos" (Jimenez Grullon, 1974, p. 41). Education in the country was limited to only some areas due to the scarcity of teachers, schools, and resources in general. During this period, the government was more interested in settling economic and leadership litigations--ever so prominent in the day-to-day national scene.

At the end of the nineteenth century, during the regime of Ulises Heureaux (Lilis), public education was in disarray. "There was at that time 95 percent illiteracy in the country" (Jimenez Grullon, 1974, p. 54). Despite these educational limitations, during the Merino, Billini, and Heureaux regimes, patriotic ideals and the need to make public eduction a priority were reaffirmed. According to Jimenez Grullon, in his book The Dominican Republic: A Fiction: "Both the Merino and Billini governments, with which he (Heureaux) collaborated (as well as during Heureaux's own first period in government), marked

a positive historical advance. Patriotic ideas were affirmed. Urban public education acquired momentum, and there was an attempt to boost economic development on a national scale" (Jimenez Grullon, 1974, pp. 55-56). That is to say, the government began to realize the importance of public education in the socioeconomic development of the country. Despite this, public instruction did not take off for economic reasons. Because it preached liberty of worship which was perceived negatively by repressive and dictatorial regimes, like that of Heureaux, it only existed to fulfill the need of some national sectors.

During the 1870s, Eugenio Maria de Hostos, the distinguished apostle and precursor of the development of Dominican education, arrived in the country. Hostos settled in Puerto Plata, where he founded "La Educadora," an educational society, and a newspaper, Las Dos Antillas. According to the historian Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi, "Hostos was joined in La Educadora by Gregorio Luperon where they worked together towards the well-being of Dominicans through their teaching activity. In 'La Educadora,' the first essentially doctrinary Dominican school, the soldier of restoration (Luperon) and the pilgrim from Boriquen (Hostos) were initiated in the noble activity of teaching the democratic doctrines of the American, and especially the Dominican, constitutions, and in the dissemination of moral and social ideals which had as their goal the harmonizing of the general interests of the three Antilles" (Rodriguez Demorizi, 1929, pp. 22-23).* During this period, Hostos' good friend, Luperon, was the leader of the opposition to President Gonzalez and thus "the attacks that Gonzalez adepts directed toward Luperon were also extended to Hostos" (Rodriguez Demorizi,

1929, p. 24).*

In an article appearing in the official newspaper, Gaceta de Santo Domingo, on February 17, 1876, Hostos was accused of stirring up discord among Dominicans. The newspaper criticized Hostos' overuse of the press to his ends, and (still more dangerously) his having taken up arms with the Cuban, Pedro Recio, "to head, as chiefs, the armed Cuban forces which they have formed in Puerto Plata without legitimate authorization, and, last but not least, of having collaborated in lighting the torch of our discords, assuming an immense responsibility, offending the sacred urn of our laws and acting against our best interests" (Rodriguez Demorizi, 1929, p. 24).* The illustrious Puerto Rican educator countered these accusations in a March 5, 1876 article in El Porvenil, a Puerto Plata newspaper, declaring as follows: "If anyone, if many, if all the Cuban and Puerto Rican exiles have ardently desired that our friend General Luperon come out unscathed from the attacks through which he has been victimized, and have dared to wish for Santo Domingo the good things we desire for Cuba and Puerto Rico, it is not to pay back with infractions to a written law the hospitality we owe and are thankful for, but rather (on the contrary) to observe a natural law which compels us to do before our brothers, and with them, as we had wished for our own countries" (Rodriguez Demorizi, 1929, p. 24).* He expresses his satisfaction in considering "Good among the good he who, having liberty as his fatherland, exercises his august patriotism anywhere. That there has been a Puerto Rican determined to be useful now, as at any other time, to this country, and that Puerto Rican is me, I have never denied, do not deny, and will not deny" (Rodriguez Demorizi, 1929, p. 25).*

This incident notwithstanding, Hostos continued to mingle in the political affairs of the country until Gonzalez' fall. He became a member, with Luperon as president, of the Board of Directors of the Puerto Plata Chapter of the Liga de la Paz (The Peace League). This was the organization which personified the opposition to the government. Rodriguez Demorizi adds that: "Besides, Hostos participated personally with Luperon in the Electoral Convention of Puerto Plata favoring the bid of the reknowned Ulises Francisco Espaillat for the Presidency of the Republic. That the latter's platform was drawn up, with all certainty, by Hostos can be surmised from a letter from Espaillat to Luperon, Hostos, Rodolfo Ovidio Limardo, and other members of the convention, dated March 7th" (Rodriguez Demorizi, 1929, p. 25).*

Eugenio Maria de Hostos traveled outside the country and remained absent for three years. His departure preceded the imminent triumph of Espaillat: "A few days before Espaillat's proclamation, in the afternoon of April 5th, he boarded the Tybre for New York" (Rodriguez Demorizi, 1929, p. 26). This gesture becomes understandable if we recall Hostos' motto: "To share all the sorrows of liberty, none of the delights of power" (Rodriguez Demorizi, 1929, p. 26).

Hostos returned to Santo Domingo in 1879. He found the situation to be favorable to the creation of the Normal School, Hostos' dream so warmly adopted by Luperon in the fecund soirees of Puerto Plata during the never-forgotten years between 1875 and 1876. In 1880, Hostos founded the Normal School in the city of Santo Domingo: "Rational teaching was thus instituted in our midst" (Moore Garrido, 1978, p. 54). A year later, he founded the Normal School in Santiago. Hostos also

collaborated with Salome Urena in the creation of the Instituto de Senoritas in the capital of the republic. The first graduation of teachers from that center was in 1887: "Hostos believed in the efficacy of education" (Jimenez Grullon, 1974, pp. 55-56). Moreover, this illustrious Puerto Rican "linked schooling to the solution of national problems. Although he only taught a few students directly, his work had repercussions in all of the land. It is only a pity that those repurcussions were not fruitful immediately" (Jimenez Grullon, 1974, p. 57). This meant that although Hostos engaged in progressive labor with scarce immediate impact, his labor held great potential for the future.

It is important to point out that from the very first years of the Normal School, Hostos' educational system, radically opposed to the routine prevalent methods, had passionate opponents. "Father Billini, the Deputy Don Isaias Franco, and others were the voices against Hostos. Their voices were soon quenched by the excellence of the new school, whose triumphs had vigorous resonance throughout the whole republic" (Jimenez Grullon, 1974, p. 30).

The North Americans and the Educational System (1916-1924)

Aside from the pedagogical contributions of Hostos and the interests of a segment of the Dominican intellectual elite, it was not until the arrival of the North Americans in 1916 that the Dominican system of public education was awakened from its slumber. In 1918, the North Americans produced Executive Order 145, which made education mandatory in the Dominican Republic. Nancy Foxworthy, in her essay "Dominican

Education," adds that: "In 1918, the country was under the control of a United States occupational force. In addition to imposing internal military and monetary regulations, the appointed military governor directed educational 'reform.' A committee was established to develop fundamental primary and secondary school curriculum and school organization. Schools became co-educational for the first time" (Foxworthy, 1976, p. 3). Other authors reinforced this view. According to Danilo Peguero and Valentina de las Santos, in their Vision General De La Historia Dominicana (General Vision of Dominican History): "Julio Ortega Frier was appointed Director of Public Instruction, which, during the occupation, became mandatory for children between seven and fourteen years of age. Parents and tutors who failed to inscribe their children in school were sanctioned with fines and arrests" (Peguero and de los Santos, 1977, p. 482). Making schooling mandatory for the population did not solve the fundamental problem of lack of schools, teachers, and materials. Besides, it made the educational problem at the secondary level of education even worse. Foxworthy comments on this situation: "Although the introduction of compulsory education greatly expanded the elementary schools, the organizational and curricular developments undertaken during this period did not result in similar expansion of the secondary school program. Most secondary schools were in the populated areas, whereas the majority of the population lived scattered in the rural areas. In addition, the economic structure of the first part of the twentieth century did not permit many families, even in the urban areas, to provide more than the basic education for their children" (Foxworthy, 1976, p. 5). It is also important to point

out that Executive Order 145 gave definitions of the components of the educational system. Four dispositions were provided as follows:

(1) The Organic Law of Public Education

(2) The Law Providing Direction for Instruction

(3) The General Law of Studies

(4) The Law of University Education

The participation of the North Americans in the development of the Dominican educational system has been judged positively by Dominican historians. The historian Frank Moya Pons, in his Manual De Historia Dominicana (Manual of Dominican History), tells us that: "Public works continued, and along with them the implementation of programs to promote primary education in the country, and the organization of a sanitary system. To promote primary education, the Military Government promulgated a new Education Law in April of 1918 and created a National Council on Education in charge of the general supervision of public instruction in the country. Between 1917 and 1920, the Military Government built several thousand schools, both big and small, in the cities and in the country. The number of students enrolled increased from 20,000 (enrolled in 1916) to more than 100,000. The investment the Military Government made in education was considerable, if one takes into consideration that up to this point education had been a fairly neglected aspect of public administration" (Moya Pons, 1977, p.482).

After the departure of North Americans from Dominican soil, several laws were promulgated, among them Law 418 of December 5, 1932, which included a series of dispositions concerning post-secondary studies. Law 2909, the Organic Law on Education which is still in force, was

promulgated on June 5, 1951. Max Fernandez summarized its main points in the following paragraphs:

> Chapter I: Deals with the elements which constitute the foundation of Dominican education, and divides it into public and private sectors. Established its levels, leaving post-secondary education outside of the system. Makes primary education mandatory and all public education free. A whole series of principals already established in practice are made explicit.
>
> Chapter II: Establishes the regulations concerning official titles and certificate.
>
> Chapters III-VII: Mentions the organisms and functionaries responsible for education and their prerogatives.
>
> Chapters VIII-XIII: Makes the different levels explicit, defined, and correlated within the system; namely, Maternal or Pre-School, Primary or Grammar, Intermediate or Middle, Secondary or High, and Technical or Vocational.
>
> Chapter XIV: Regulations on tests and examinations.
>
> Chapters XV and XVI: Management of service personnel.
>
> Chapter XVII: Sanctions for establishments which depart from the norms.
>
> Chapter XVIII: General dispositions--Breakfast and school wardrobe; Parents and Friends of the School Association. (Fernandez, 1980, pp. 15-16)

The participation of North Americans in the development of educational laws and in the shaping of a functional system within the objective conditions of the historical frame would not have been possible without the participation of illustrious Dominicans who worked hard in order to prevent the educational system from becoming a mere reflection of foreign influences. They united the state-of-the-art pedagogical techniques with national values and feelings. Among them are Archbishop Carlos Nouel, Helegrin Castillo, Jacinto R. de Castro, Manuel Ubaldo Gomez, Manuel de Jesus Troncoso de la Concha, Julio Ortega Frier

(Superintendent of Education), and Don Federico Valasquez Hernandez. All of these Dominicans were appointed to a commission on education by the Military Government in January of 1917. With the departure of the North Americans in 1924, a new chapter in the history of Dominican education opened. The dictatorship of Trujillo became the central axis of this process.

Educational Situation in the Dominican Republic

For more than a half century of existence (1924-1987), the Dominican Republic has had the most disastrous government for the educational development of that long-suffering nation. Education in this turbulent Caribbean island was plunged into darkness by Trujillo's long dictatorship of thirty years. Obsolete educational methods, the absence of didactic materials updated to reflect the advances of science, and a curriculum primarily designed to flatter the regime were characteristic of this pretense Dominican educational system. This situation, along with other social evils, produced chronic illiteracy. Schools were very scarce, especially in the rural zone where 75 percent of the population lived in utmost poverty and ignorant of anything which would in any way lay bare the tyrant's ignominy. All this was part of the model of domination implemented by Trujillo and those who kept him in power. It was a process of conditioning which had as its main goal the establishment of a situation in which the peasants, from early on, felt always incapable of controlling their own lives. Luis Nieves Falcon describes this phenomenon as follows: "It is important that the poor begin to internalize a sense of self-worthlessness which engenders mistrust of their

own possibilities as human beings and a sense of living only in the present and which does not allow them to project their expectations from one day to the next. Frequently they become tolerant of the structures which oppress them using religious animism as an escape from the forces which reduce their human condition" (Nieves Falcon, 1976, p. 98). The regimes which preceded Trujillo (from 1896 to 1924) managed, on a small scale, to make the sad state of education bearable, although they did not represent qualitative advancements. The media, along with credible professionals, assert this reality. We find the following denunciation again and again. Regarding the present situation, the Communist Party of the Dominican Republic, in a newspaper article, stated that: "The educational system is in crisis, and that crisis assumes dramatic proportions in the elementary levels. The accumulated deficiencies and the conditioning of the socioeconomic frame cause an evident deterioration in education at all levels" (Partido Comunista Dominicano, 1979).

This is not an isolated thesis, but, as explained earlier, one espoused by a number of Dominican professionals and foreigners who have studied the educational system. Dona Zoraida Heredia Vda. Zuncar points in the direction of this evil saying that: "The Dominican school urgently needs to be renovated; it needs a systematic and progressive renovation which responds to scientific planning. It needs a change of instruments and of means in general that it might achieve a revolution in structures and values, and that it might pose a challenge to the conditions of socialization and obtain improved educational results" (Heredia Vda. Zuncar, 1980, p. 84). Talking about the Dominican school, Castana Espaillat, former Under-Secretary of Education, stated: "The

Dominican school has been set on a seemingly never-ending course towards death. It lost track of its own nature, and everything that becomes so denaturalized is doomed to perish" (Castana Espaillat, 1980, p. 13).

If we apply the concept of looking at education as a means of the model of domination, we will come to the conclusion that Dominican education (much to Espaillat's regret) does not become denaturalized, but rather only serves its purpose. As Jorge Max Fernandez points out: "The educational system is one of the instances through which the members of a society are brought closer to the ideal-type man, completely functional and agreeable to the community in which he lives" (Fernandez, 1980, p. 7). Dominican education, in as much as it is the product of an infrastructure which has been anomalous throughout its history, can have nothing else but an underdeveloped educational system with outmoded methods and materials. According to Vasconi, "this educational apparatus (school) in its present configuration is the result of the objective qualifying demands originating in the development of the capitalist productive apparatus (and thus, of qualifying function of bourgeois society) and in the characteristics which the (idealogical and political) struggle takes on in concrete social formations" (Vasconi, 1980, p. 13).*

Dominican education developed its first Organic Law on May 12, 1845, in response to Articles 29 and 211 of the first Constitution. But it was not until the North American intervention that the foundation of the educational system was laid out in Executive Order 145, dating from 1918. The legal framework promulgated by the American occupation was made up of four clearly defined bodies: The Organic Law of Public Education,

The Law Providing Direction for Instruction, The General Law of Studies, and The Law on University Education. During this period, one could highlight the Dominican effort, headed by Americo Lugo, to preserve, as much as possible, national identity and national values. The present Organic Law on Education was promulgated on June 5, 1951. It states in its first article that: "The content of education offered by the Dominican school will be based on the principles of Christian civilization and of Hispanic tradition which are of fundamental importance in the formation of our historical physiognomy, and will be directed within the democratic spirit of our institutions towards awakening in the students a Pan-American feeling, and a feeling towards international understanding and solidarity." In this law, we can clearly see which way the scale tips: "To speak of neutrality in education is to express, once again, a will to mystify. . . . Every educational system provides options of imagery, of a conception of the world, of a given model for thought and action which it tries to pass as better than others" (Freire, 1970).

In the Dominican educational system, certain levels of administration are controlled by people who respond to the political direction of the powers that be. This means that there is no continuity and that each time a new Secretary of Education comes in, things have to take a new course. According to the 1979 Diagnostico Educativo (Educational Diagnostic): "There is no general plan to serve as guide and to provide coherence to the different initiatives that might be implemented in that respect" (Diagnostico, 1979, p. 50). Supreme authority on educational matters is exercised by the Secretary of Education who maintains the structure centralized, allowing himself to have command over the

greatest number of responsibilities and decisions; nevertheless, this sole functionary can establish little control, thus leaving many gaps in his functions. Formal structure is not respected, and there are still enough gaps for his subordinates to set themselves up as ever so many centers of power. An effective administration that could exercise the leadership the system needs does not exist. On the contrary, the highly centralized position from which the Secretary operates becomes an insurmountable barrier which halts every positive initiative coming from those interested in the functioning of the system.

We can also point to a deficiency in the creation of viable forms for the better direction of public education: "An unfortunate structuring of the lines of authority makes serious work almost impossible" (Salce, 1980, p. 50). The problems of this administrative apparatus are even deeper. An exhaustive study of the Dominican educational system could make us conclude that planning is almost impossible within it, that there are no clear criteria for choosing the best from among several alternatives. Max Fernandez, in his book El Sistema Educativo Dominicano (The Dominican Educational System, 1980), writes that: "Even if it is true that the main office of the Minister of Education does not perform a direct educational function, its inability to comply with the schools' needs is an indispensable condition for education not being fully implemented. It is our opinion that if the problems plaguing this portion of the educational system were to be solved, a high percentage of the internal impediments which today block the labor of educators would disappear" (Fernandez, 1980, p. 32). To achieve the aforementioned, we would have to speak of a transformation of the whole

system as Heredia Vda. Zuncar urged.

Presently, power in the administration of the education is neither centralized nor localized, neither concentrated nor dispersed, but plainly equivocal. Within the Department of Education, incredible disinformation exists alongside "a complete inability to gather reliable data, which makes the compilation of statistics that could be used to guide the action of the system an impossible task" (Fernandez, 1980, p. 35). Research and experience indicate that the administration of Dominican education is not in the best possible hands to respond cogently to change needed for society development. In this respect, Durkheim points out that: "Each society is constituted within an ideal of man, of what he is supposed to be physically as well as morally. . . . This ideal . . . constitutes the north star of education" (Durkheim, 1980, p. 274). That is to say, the administration of Dominican education cannot be anything else because its roots do not allow it anything which does not fit within the bureaucratic machinery of underdevelopment. Several times the Dominican Republic has hosted foreign missions which have severely criticized the organizational mode of its educational system. There are many documents that attest to this which are also full of possible solutions. It would be idle to point out the fate of these reports.

The situation of teachers is worse still. We know that when the head is poorly functioning, more often than not the body cannot function well either, as it reflects the malfunction of the head. Generally speaking, the Dominican teacher is "an inefficient, ill-prepared instructor, eager to save himself the greatest amount of problems,

cares, and efforts due to the following reasons. It would be a gross oversimplification not to go deeper in the analysis, and we would be deluding ourselves, if we made the teacher responsible for the whole situation. The reality is different. If we ask ourselves about the (Dominican) teacher, we would have to define him/her as an alienated being, as somebody to whom the very possibility of 'being' is denied" (Fernandez, 1980, p. 41). We cannot make the teacher the scapegoat, make him/her take responsibility for evils which are rooted in other spheres of society. We have to see the teacher for what the reality that the structure produces and allows him/her to be. That is why Fernandez describes the teacher as follows: "The Dominican educator--underpaid, prone to corruption, and underestimated by society--is no longer a professional of education. He has been the victim too many times. He is, in the strictest sense of the word, a marginal being" (Fernandez, 1980, p. 44).

Once, while he was still President, Joaquin Balaguer said of teachers: "The principal fault in our education, as all those who know the inner workings of the Dominican school admit, resides in the lack of qualified educators. Eighty percent of our teachers lack sufficient pedagogical formation. Many of them have not even completed the eighth grade, and some, moreover, are really semiliterate persons. Few are truly teachers by vocation. The majority choose this profession as a means of subsistence. They are migrant birds" (Fernandez, 1980, p. 7).

For the President of the Republic to pass critical judgments of this nature is very important when the pertinent statistics which back up such an exposition are readily available. What is really important

is not what Balaguer says, since that is a very well-known fact among our educational technicians, but rather that it is up to him, in his official capacity as President of the Republic, to expose and develop policies to change this sad reality immediately. His pronouncement is not in accordance with global reality and betrays an underhanded analysis. The inner workings of the Department of Education are well known to Balaguer. Nevertheless, he never paused to think that he had the power to curb the problems of national education. It is still more paradoxical that while the President of the Republic emits judgment, the Department of Education, a branch of the government, enacts under state sanction an employment policy which worsens the national teaching profession. The former practice of employing personnel without the theoretical and practical capacity continues: "Although there are qualified resources, improvised professors are integrated into the system, especially bachelors (meaning high school graduates) without any pedagogical formation. This brings about the great need for training programs whose costs are generally very high" (Hernandez, 1980, p. 14). This situation, along with the development of needs of all levels of the educational system, should force sectors of government power to adopt urgent measures.

Duverge clarifies the problem: "It has been necessary to improvise professors, to make locales ready in a hurry, and to establish double schedules. The already chronic lack of educational materials has become worse; the administrative services have been overwhelmed as they are faced with new and increasing responsibilities. All these factors have had, without a doubt, negative repercussions on the quality of education"

(Duverge, et al., 1980, p. 6). We could point out these and other reasons as indicators of the fact that the Dominican teacher is but a scapegoat in a most depressing situation over which he has no control. Hernandez also considers that the main problem lies within the organs of governmental power: "One can conclude that the decisions enacted by the Department of Education to fill its needs for qualified technical and teaching personnel have been very limited. . . . They have implemented AD HOC programs which do not reflect a permanent preoccupation with the intellectual enhancement of teachers" (Hernandez, 1980, p. 15).

It is thus demonstrated that Balaguer errs when he points to the Dominican teacher as the sole person responsible for the situation of decay in which Dominican education finds itself at present. The cowl does not make the monk. The findings of reports, needs assessments, as well as the analysis of national and foreign technicians demonstrate that the sickness is not in the sheet, as the popular saying goes, but in the sick man. We should not accuse one part of the whole for an illness which attacks the entire organism.

If we look at the report of the Department of Education for 1979, Diagnostico Educativo Dominicano (Dominican Educational Diagnostic), we find the following reality with respect to teachers: "Of 21,173 teachers who at present serve at the grammar school level (both public and private), 9,700 have the required professional credentials. Of the 12,154 which work in the rural zone, 4,591 have degrees; there are 7,563 teachers without degrees. It is convenient to quote that 'one can find instances (sad to say the least) where qualified teachers are looking for jobs, while the state employs personnel without the

qualifications.' The motives are complex. One would have to invoke migratory currents, political interests, and so many other congenital defects engendered by underdevelopment" (Fernandez, 1980, p. 51).

Contemplating the panorama of our education, we can understand why the Dominican Republic has the sad distinction of suffering from the lowest indexes of grammar school effectiveness in Latin America--Haiti, Honduras, and Bolivia included. If we look at students per classroom ratios, the Dominican Republic educational system houses an average of 63.2 students per classroom; in the rural area, the ratio is as high as 65.7 students per classroom. According to the 1979 Diagnostico Educativo Dominicano, one would need to build an average of 2,262 classrooms a year until 1982 to make up for the deficit. This problem of overpopulation of classrooms is one over which the teacher has no control. Another important piece of information has to do with educational materials: "In general, in the lyceums and grammar school, equipment and materials are scarce. One can say that the grammar school has but one visual aid--the blackboard" (Diagnostico, 1979, p. 178). In addition, there is a great lack of textbooks. Since the majority of the population is living below the poverty level and cannot acquire them, speculation with textbooks is a constant theme of discussion. To this day, the state has been unable to remedy this situation.

Within this malaise, the children and youth try very hard to develop their intellects, and have sometimes even attempted to project their inconformity with the educational environment to which they are subjected. The Dominican student has basically three fundamental problems within the educational system: repetition of grades, dropout, and

overage. The latter, according to Hernandez, "is a common phenomenon in the country. It is easy to verify that children and youth of the most diverse ages coincide within the same classroom. This makes more difficult the educator's task since the group, on account of its heterogeneity, has very diverse centers of attention. Moreover, this forced coexistence is the foundation of future problems both for the younger and the older" (Fernandez, 1980, p. 59). For example, according to the available statistics in the Diagnostic of 1985, seven of every ten students up to nineteen years of age are in the first grade.

If we look at other statistics, we will find that, for the period 1960-1972, of every 100 students enrolled, only an average of 16 would reach the sixth grade. Of 553,800 students who in 1968-1969 were in the first grade, only 69,312 (or 12.5 percent) were in middle school in 1975. Of every 100 students in the first grade, 26 will have to repeat it. According to experts in educational matters, "taking (only) into consideration this pattern of repetitions, the average student needs 15.21 more years than normal to finish grammar school" (Fernandez, 1980, p. 63). The 1979 Diagnostic estimates this figure at 11.1 more years in the urban sector and 23.12 in the rural zone.

According to official information, the rate if illiteracy in the Dominican Republic in 1976 was estimated at 27.1 percent. The criteria used to determine whether a person is to be considered literate is as follows: "He who having had his tenth birthday can read and write his own name" (Fernandez, 1980, p. 79). After analyzing this information, the percentage of illiterates in the population rises immediately. The real percentage of illiterates in the country is much higher, even if

we do not include illiteracy based on years of no contact with reading materials of any kind. The situation is dismal and only a dramatic and drastic change in the social structure will solve the tremendous educational deficit confronted by the people of the Dominican Republic.

With respect to personnel, the research points toward the teachers: forgotten, alone, underpaid, and underestimated by a society which values "having" more than "being," marginalized by a consumer society where he/she experiences growing frustration. "There can be no doubt that the Dominican teacher, whichever his area or level, is the club to improve the system of education. Train him, raise his consciousness, pay him a living and respectful wage, assign him to a manageable class (size) with proper teaching materials, and promote him as a human being in which great riches lie. This is a duty and a prerequisite for a qualitative change in our educational system" (Fernandez, 1980, p. 14).

In order to be able to transmit objectively the knowledge necessary for the learning process of so many Dominican children and adults who have migrated to the United States, it is necessary to be aware of the Dominican educational reality described above.

Adult Educational Programs and Illiteracy in the Dominican Republic

The higher rate of illiteracy in the Dominican Republic is a dilemma. Many educational experts have attempted to explain the causes and effects of illiteracy in different ways, without reaching any conclusions that give hope for a possible solution. It is understood that a review of the model of social control is a necessity if one really

wants to understand the workings of an educational system that produces obstacles instead of solutions to the problems confronted by teachers, administrators, students, and parents. Although a serious study of illiteracy or a global analysis of the educational realities of the Dominican Republic are not enough to remedy these problems, it is impossible to deny their importance. But we have to realize that an analysis of the educational system would only serve as a base to understanding all the negative precedents set by different governments along the historical process of Dominican education. The Dominican Republic is not the only country that suffers from the disease of illiteracy; this is a virus that affects all underdeveloped nations very deeply. Nieves Falcon, in his book Diagnostic of Puerto Rico, indicated that: "The low level of schooling is another factor that, in a persistent way, is related to poor conditions, unemployment, and the low income associated with it" (Nieves Falcon, 1976, pp. 95-96).

Illiteracy targets children as well as adolescents; it leaves its worse scars among the country's adult population. Marcio Veloz Maggiolo, Under-Minister of Education during the years 1978-1980, stated, in his book Culture and Political Culture in the Dominican Republic: "One can reach an adult age without schooling, or the possibility of, and social mobility as a result of an obsolete educational system in the majority of underdeveloped nations" (Veloz Maggiolo, 1980, p. 58). Illiteracy among the adult population can be understood as a function of the educational deficit among children. Furthermore, one has to consider that illiteracy has a function within the power structure, since it is an important element to limit development and at the same time

serve as an instrument of control.

The Dominican social system understands that keeping the citizens at a low education level is of great importance if it is to maintain them within the model of social control. In the power structure, control is maintained by a social class who believes that the greater the ignorance that exists, the less the risk of popular rebellion against the Establishment. Christian Baudelot and Roger Establet, in their book The Capitalist School (quoted by Veloz Maggiolo), refer to these educational limitations. They assert that they are the result of the country's socioeconomic organization ". . . which is part of the contradiction manifested in the process of social struggle" (Veloz Maggiolo, 1980, p. 61). This statement readily applies to the educational realities of the Dominican Republic. Roberto Cassa concurred when he made an analysis of the Dominican education sector by saying: "The direct consequences of this problem reflects itself in the urban and rural sectors, with negative implication for educational development. The people within these groups are characterized by a low level of income, chronic subemployment, separation from the modern economic sector, and limited services needed for individual growth, such as electricity, drinking water, buildings, cultural resources, education, etc." (Cassa, et al., 1977, p. 23).

The above elements are of relative importance in understanding the chronic backwardness of the Dominican educational system. Furthermore, it has implications for the very serious problem of the high percentage of illiteracy in the nation. In addition to illiteracy, high rates of school dropout and patterns of educational deficit are factors found in

the education system, rooted in the model of control to whom it responds. Poverty is an element in the development of educational limitation. If we understand the role poverty plays in education, it will be natural to consider class struggle in society as a key factor, especially when an analysis of causes and effects of educational development is done.

The educational system was created to respond to the interests of the ruling class. Because of the inability of poor people to control the means of production, their involvement in the development of rules and regulations in society does not exist. Moreover, the poor are seen as the creators of their own educational problems. Since an early age, the majority of Dominicans are living a disadvantageous schooling situation. The absence of schools, the shortage of teachers, and the inadequacy of teaching materials result in the high percentage of illiterates and dropouts, and a great percentage of the "educated" population who have a visible level of educational deficit.

The situation described above could generate conflicts of great proportion for the country. A study of the facts that create these problems show two variables as main reasons for their occurrence: (1) The control of education by the State, and (2) The social conditions among the poor in the country. The Dominican people are very tolerant in civil rights matters. In addition, at an early age they internalize a low level of self-esteem which results in doubt about their abilities as human beings. Poor people tend to focus on immediate achievements rather than on supplying future needs.

In the Dominican Republic, all discussion about illiteracy is done with poor people as the principal source of impact in mind. The concept

of poverty is defined as "that situation in which an individual, a family, or a group live at a lower economic level than the community taken as a reference point" (Cassa, et al., 1977, p. 84). According to this definition, the majority of Dominicans live in poverty. This poverty is also defined as a result of urban marginality within different sectors of the country. "Urban marginality limits integration into the modern economic sector. People subsist in temporary jobs and subemployment in fields considered backward, especially in service areas. Within this margin, people of different social status can be found, from proletarians to small merchants or craftsmen. In addition, these people are integrated into a separate economic level. They exist in a limited urban space in which the more basic services do not exist" (Cassa, et al., 1977, p. 18).

In any analysis of illiteracy in the Dominican Republic, the government cannot be ignored since it is basically responsible for the problematic educational system and the economic limitations that, in the long run, result in an abnormal and unproductive road for education. It goes without saying that the Dominican governments have responded to the needs of education with obsolete means, and this is a valid and key reason for the stagnated Dominican educational system. According to Emanuel Castillo, in his essay entitled "Education in a Transition Society" (1977): "Education is a reflection of the social and technical environment where it takes place. As such, it is an agent or a process to preserve the stability of the system" (Castillo, 1977, p. 29). The Dominican educational system fulfilled the designated purposes of its creators. Therefore, the state's obvious disregard for education is

billed as an inability to improve the indigenous system of education. Education in the country has accomplished its goals, which are perceived as the application of a conditioning process in which students and other segments of the population live their life in darkness, deficiency, and responding automatically without resistance to the designed model of domination. It is understood that education can be a subversive element in society. It also can serve to prolong a government that does not respond to the needs of the majority. Castillo states: "Through teaching, personality can be modified, in addition to transmitting the aims and educational objectives which take singular importance in linking education and social order. In this way, education will transform itself into educational politics, making education a social function" (Castillo, 1977, p. 29). Students are socialized to be an image of what is considered the ideal citizen by the ruling class in society.

Several experts in education stated the need for a national Literacy Campaign. Only one thing has to be taken into consideration if a national campaign on literacy is to take place. It would have to be the result of an objective analysis of the present conditions of education because, although illiteracy can be found in urban areas, its deepest scars appear in the rural area as indelible marks for years. The problem is so acute in the rural area that it would be necessary to draw a separate plan for the rural and urban areas. In order to be effective, a rigorous campaign in the rural sector would have to centralize all its efforts within that area. According to Castillo, ". . . the specific conditions of the social environment have to be the

determinant factor in selecting the methods and objectives of education. At present, it is not possible to advocate for separate educational approaches in the rural and urban sectors or for marginal populations. Nevertheless, it is, in principle, necessary to approximate the different scale and level of real problems presented to generate an educational plan that can be applied directly to the social groups unable until now to obtain educational opportunities" (Castillo, 1977, p. 24).

The Dominican Republic Census of 1970 gave the following statistical data which serve as a frame of reference to analyze illiteracy in the country.

TABLE 1

LEVELS OF INSTRUCTION IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS--1970
(POPULATION FIVE YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER)

Level of Instruction	Total	Urban	%	Rural	%
Total Male and Female	3,325,785	1,346,220	40.5	1,979,565	59.5
Without Instruction	1,041,815	253,035	18.8	788,780	39.8
Pre-Elementary Education	163,080	63,225	4.7	99,855	5.0
Elementary Education	1,432,620	646,065	48.0	788,555	39.7
JHS Education	200,090	146,445	10.9	53,645	2.7
Secondary Education	140,625	107,010	7.9	33,615	1.7
Higher Education	35,545	31,970	2.4	3,575	0.2
Unspecify Education	312,010	98,470	7.3	213,540	10.8

SOURCE: "The 1970 Dominican Republic Census" (cited by Cassa, et al., 1977, p. 23).

It is noticeable that the need for instruction for both genders in the rural area (59.5 percent) is greater than in the urban sector, thus, the need there for schools and instruction as time progresses becomes more of a necessity. It is alarming to find that in the rural area only 20.0 percent of the population had some level of instruction, while 39.8 percent of the population was without schooling. Let us view the age groups in relation to urban and rural percentages in the year 1970 in an attempt to develop a more global understanding.

TABLE 2

POPULATION GROUPS ACCORDING TO AGE AND PERCENTAGES--1970
(URBAN AND RURAL)

Groups	Total	%	Urban	%	Rural	%
0-14	1,904,424	47.5	706,560	44.3	1,197,885	49.7
15-64	1,977,310	49.4	839,585	52.7	1,137,725	47.1
65 and Over	124,670	3.1	47,110	3.0	77,560	3.2

SOURCE: "The 1970 Dominican Republic Census" (cited by Cassa, et al., 1977, p. 23).

Table 2 reflects an urban population influx due to a constant internal mobility from the rural area into the cities. One can also observe in the statistical data (above) indicators showing over-population in the urban area. This is especially true for the capital city (Santo Domingo) where, according to the Census of 1981, 27 percent

of the country's population lived. The numbers stated in Table 2 for people in ages between 15 and 64 reflect 52.7 percent and 47.1 percent for the urban and rural areas respectively. The mobility from the rural area to the cities has been well documented, as has its negative impact on agricultural production and on the efforts conducted by the official sector to provide education to this important segment of the population.

Table 3 reflects a steady increase in the urban population between the years 1920 and 1970, while there was a steady decline in the rural population during the same period.

TABLE 3

EVOLUTION OF THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION
(1920-1970)

Year	Total Population	Urban	%	Rural	%
1920	894,655	148,894	16.6	745,761	83.4
1935	1,497,417	266,565	18.0	1,212,852	82.0
1950	2,135,872	508,408	23.8	1,627,464	76.2
1960	3,047,070	922,090	30.3	2,124,980	67.7
1970	4,011,589	1,603,937	40.0	2,407,652	60.0

SOURCE: National Census of the Dominican Republic: 1920, 1935, 1950, 1960, and 1970.

Many experts in the field have attributed these changes to increased in-migration from rural to urban areas. As the population

increases, the problem of illiteracy becomes an even more serious one in the urban areas. Among factors creating illiteracy are the lack of teachers and classrooms, which became the main obstacles to providing learning to school-aged children. This problem, more than any other, is responsible for the indigenous educational crisis described in this research.

Let us try to analyze illiteracy in relation to the linkages it has with rural-urban mobility. According to an article published in Ahora Magazine (December 11, 1972): "In 1960, the country had 1,115,840 illiterates among its population between 15 or more years of age. From 1960 to 1969, a period of only eight years, 380,260 new illiterates have to be added to the amount cited. Therefore, the complete total is 1,468,002, without adding deaths during this period" (Ahora Magazine, 1972). From this statement, one can generate a clear conclusion regarding the inability of the Dominican educational system to solve the problems within the system, an educational system that constantly accumulates negative statistics and which portrays the government's inability to provide through its educational institutions one of the most elemental rights of humanity--the possibility to learn.

In 1968, more than two-thirds of the Dominican population under 15 years old were illiterates. Another alarming fact offered in the above data is that between 1960 and 1968 the nation produced 47,500 illiterates per year. In a country where the scarcity of schools is critical and where the rural sector is affected most greatly by this situation, the government must emphasize the resolution of the problem in this area, particularly since two-thirds (62.5 percent) of the

students in elementary schools are concentrated in the rural area.

TABLE 4

ILLITERACY PERCENTAGE

Year	Total Area	Urban Area	Rural Area
1950	56.8	29.6	66.3
1960	34.2	18.9	41.3
1970	32.2	19.7	43.4

SOURCE: Nicolas Almazar, Notes to Study Adult Education (Santo Domingo: UNPHU Edition, 1974), p. 24.

Educators around the world have defined illiteracy by dividing it into two categories--functional illiterates and illiterates, differing from early inclusive definitions. According to the new criteria, one of the main requirements necessary to consider a person literate is that he/she has completed from first to fourth grade of elementary school. Most of the experts justify the measures by stating that a person does not consolidate his/her reading and writing in less than this period of time. It is common among adult literacy students who attended school the first two grades that after acquiring some ability to read and write, they become functionally illiterate by losing the learned knowledge. Furthermore, the first four grades of elementary school offer a minimum of knowledge needed for a person to generate his/her own

development.

An important fact in relation to illiteracy in the Dominican Republic is stated as follows: "The director of the literacy campaign of the Archbishop, Mr. Suarez Marril, and Dr. Gustavo Zakrzewki, expert consultant to U.N.E.S.C.O. in the country, consider that since the quality of education is low, the fourth year requirement must be elevated up to the completion of sixth grade" (Castillo, 1977, p. 12). This statement is more than interesting since it generates an impact in any analysis done or future research on the deficient educational process of the Dominican Republic. The above statement does not include differences in educational level in existence now in the private education sector, which is considered superior to public education. Instruction in the urban area is distinctively superior to rural instruction, which gives an even more catastrophic appearance to the educational realities researched.

Although these educational realities are not unknown to governmental officials, they are not making any efforts to solve the problem. The statistics are highly accusatory. There are 62.5 percent of the country's students in elementary school located in the rural sector. Nevertheless, no attention has been given to the solution of crucial problems, such as the shortage of teachers, the shortage of schools, the lack of teaching resources, etc. In the following statistics, one can find a classical example of how the government has abandoned education: In 1967-1968, of 681 new teachers coming to fill newly-created jobs, only 17 went to the rural area. In 1969, of 558 new teachers, only 82 went to the rural sector. Taking these facts into consideration, a

conclusion can be drawn, e.g., that teachers are not distributed according to the most pressing needs, such as those in the rural sector, but rather in the interest of those who have a "godfather." This problem is exemplified by quoting a well-known popular saying: "Those who do not have a godfather do not get baptized." Jacobo Moquete of the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (UASD), referring to the Dominican educational system, said: "In summation, the Dominican Republic presently has the type of schooling that harmonizes with its agriculture, its industry, justice, art, culture, government, sports, military, and its commerce" (Moquete, 1984, p. 51). After analyzing the present condition of the Dominican Republic's educational system, one can see that no significant changes have been proposed. The national way of life can only be improved at all levels by producing an educational system that responds to developmental structures. This is presently a contradiction since the Dominican educational system responds to a model of domination and to the ruling upper class.

The situation since 1970 has not improved much and may indeed be even worse. According to the last Dominican national census of 1981, cited by Moquete, in his book Pedagogia y Educacion Dominicanas: "The urban population, which is 52 percent of the total population, is bigger than the population of the rural sector (48 percent). In this context, the city of Santo Domingo stands out with 27 percent of the country's total population" (Moquete, 1984, p. 42). The total Dominican population in the census of 1981 was 5,647,977. Population growth in the urban sector is the result of mobility as well as other factors. Some of the reasons for the fast pace in urban development have been

identified as follows:

(a) The decline of small and middle agrarian producers.

(b) Accelerated urbanization.

(c) Population growth in the urban area and its stagnation in the rural areas.

(d) The tendency toward explosive growth of urban centers started to be manifest in the 1950s and still continues. (This is referred to as levels of population unity.)

(e) Different percentages of growth can be explained only by basing them on an internal migratory process, the most important of which has to do with the massive migration from rural to urban rgions. (INTEC, 1974)

This important study also stated: "It is evident that a 7.4 percent level of annual growth in the urban area is not due to reproduction, but basically to immigration. This immigration also created lower rural population percentages, since the annual measure of the country's population increased by 3.1 percent in the period" (Cassa, et al., 1974).

According to the "Report of the Official Educational Sector," edited by the Ministry of Education in 1985: "The Dominican population is very young. More than 35 percent up to July of 1984 was under 15 years of age. This implies that those youngsters would be demanding elementary education. This included about 2.5 million children and adolescents" (SEEBAC Statistics Department, 1985, p. 141). As the population increases, the problem of illiteracy becomes an increasing one in the urban areas.

The following table of statistics deals with percentages of student enrollment and completion of the academic year in order to facilitate the understanding of illiteracy in the Dominican Republic.

TABLE 5

SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION, ELEMENTARY MATRICULATION, AND PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL-AGE STUDENTS IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM (1970-1983)

	1970-1971	1978-1979	1982-1983
Population Aged 7-14 Years	905,319	1,134,184	1,307,558
Elementary Students	764,879	909,878	1,105,730
Completed (%)	84.5	80.2	84.6
Population Aged 15-19 Years	438,600	554,608	673,458
JHS Students	126,300	273,953	369,632
Completed (%)	28.8	49.4	54.9

Dropout rates are related mainly to social and economic family realities. This has been identified by some educational experts as a way for the school system to force children of low socioeconomic status out of school. The family's inability to provide children with clothing, food, and school materials plays a very important role in most cases. Another factor here of great importance is functional illiteracy. Those who do not use the knowledge they have acquired do not retain it and become illiterate again.

It is interesting to see that eleven years after the first publication of an article on illiteracy in the Dominican Republic, Ahora Magazine published another article dealing with the same acute situation as in the past. Ana Dolores Camacho, Chairperson of the Education Department at the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (UASD),

commented by saying: "Recently in the national newspapers' press conference, Mr. Jose Cruz, Executive Director of the Citizen Education Program, reported that, according to statistics, 700,000 Dominicans are illiterate, and 1,200,000 have a low level of education and read and write with defect" (Camacho, 1983, p. 16). During this same year, she added that the Ministry of Education announced that 300,000 children had been out of school because of the lack of physical space. The statistics given in Table 6 reflect the lack of classrooms in the country schools in 1980.

TABLE 6

CLASSROOM DEFICIT IN 1980

	Rural Sector	Urban	Total
Useless Classrooms	1,201	364	1,565
Number Needed	4,222	1,000	5,222
Total	5,423	1,364	6,787

SOURCE: SEEBAC Diagnostic, 1985.

The educational system needs to build an average of 2,262 classrooms in two years, according to these statistics, in order to solve the crisis.

The Education Report of 1985, previously quoted, gives us official figures on illiteracy that help us to update our statements in this regard. According to the preliminary data found in the educational map, illiteracy rose by 500,000 in 1983. When this figure was presented, the Dominican Republic had more than two million (2,000,000) illiterates. According to official statistics given in 1983, the nation had an illiteracy rate of 37 percent. Since education in the country is divided by region, it is important to state here that if one is looking for a specific region with higher percentage of illiteracy and greater educational trouble, all indicators will point to the southwest region, where 47 percent of the people are illiterate. This is not an isolated fact from the socioeconomic realities of the country as a whole. Camacho, referring to the above, states that "dependency maintains millions of people in the world in a state of ignorance regarding the important aspects of man's social development. The causes and consequences of illiteracy are the essence of this state of affairs" (Camacho, 1983, p. 14).

The official educational sector has undertaken a series of literacy campaigns that, in a very limited way, have reached some of their proposed objectives. One of these campaigns was called "The Trujillo Plan for Literacy" in the 1950s. Its motto was: "All Dominicans must learn to read and write. God, Country, and Liberty." Most of the objectives to be accomplished during this campaign seemed to be inefficient.

Other literacy campaigns have taken place in the last fifteen years. Camacho, in her cited essay, states: "In the past decade

(1970-1980), the Ministry of Education made possible the creation of various radio literacy campaigns. Due to a number of reasons, these efforts did not accomplish their objectives. The lower rates of illiteracy obtained by people in that campaign represented a lower percentage in relation to the matriculated population" (Camacho, 1983, p. 14). Of 112,000 adults registered, 16,234 (14.5 percent) become literate. Other efforts gave more positive results. For example, the literacy campaign in the frontier region had a registration of 16,205 adults. Of those, 7,242 (44 percent) received literacy competency. It is important to point out that this was part of the private sector's radio initiative in 1971, and its effort to eradicate illiteracy in those boundaries. In order to understand these results, one has to use the indicator stated by Cassa on the phenomenon of rural education. He indicated: "The proliferation of education in the rural areas has, in general, been more difficult due to demographic dispersion and to the major lack of motivation to reach technical or cultural ugrading. Therefore, the serious difficulties observed in the rural educational sectors not only affect the marginal groups but the population of the Dominican Republic as a whole" (Cassa, et al., 1977, p. 24).

It is a difficult task indeed to try to explain in detail the political realities behind these educational problems, especially if one wants to maintain neutrality in order to study the variables in an objective way. In the case of illiteracy in the Dominican Republic, the reasons for its existence are so obvious and the results so depressing that it is difficult to treat the problem objectively. As a result of the International Symposium on Literacy, which took place in September

of 1975, PERSEPOLIS declared: "Literacy, and general education, is not the means for historical transformation. It is not the only means of liberation. But it is undoubtedly an instrument necessary for all social change. Literacy, and education in general, is a political act. It is not neutral, since it reveals the social reality--to transform it, to hide it, or to conserve it. These are political acts" (D'Oleo, 1983, p. 27). That is to say, we are confronting a social phenomenon where the only solution rests on the level of consciousness among the population and the importance of the role played by them in the transformation of society.

The Ministry of Education Report of 1985 on Dominican illiteracy requires certain additional recommendations without which it is incomplete. These recommendations have to be realistic in dealing with the cure for this horrible illness called "illiteracy." The author tried in a very descriptive way, and particularly by using bibliographical resources and sources on hand, to present the realities of the Dominican educational system.

It is impossible to expect a solution or to find a remedy to the Dominican educational crisis, especially dealing with illiteracy, without considering it as something imperative and in need of immediate attention. The following are recommendations considered by the author as important in solving the problem:

(a) The access to school of all Dominicans of school age.

(b) The creation of educationally adequate infrastructures that consider teacher preparation a priority and the construction of schools as an immediate remedy.

(c) The abandoning by the educational system of the traditional conception of literacy as a mechanical act of words, syllables, and letters. Via literacy, an individual can view the social realities and examine his social environment which is full of events and things that can further motivate the process of learning. A new method of teaching is required where literacy would not be a way of filling the mind with words detached from reality. In the bibliographical review of this research, the researcher found an essay by D'Oleo which can be utilized as a new model in the Dominican Republic. D'Oleo's essay is based on Freire's theories, who espouses a participative methodology as the appropriate approach for learning. There exists in this theory, according to D'Oleo, "two complementary elements: one is the way in which critics encounter the participants' reality, and the other has to do with the apprehension of how an objective action is presented as an act of knowledge" (D'Oleo, 1983, p. 27). When the student can relate what he is learning to his surrounding reality, he becomes more confident. The result should be more positive when what is learned can be related directly to the daily living of the person involved in the process of learning. Furthermore, in participative theory, "the language learned in the process of literacy should not consist exclusively of written language. There are other forms of non-verbal communication which can be taught, e.g., audiovisual and graphics that should be utilized because of their communicative and convincing power. The greater the number of channels by which a message is transmitted from the transmitter to the receptor, the more likely it is to be learned by the latter" (D'Oleo, 1983, p. 28).

(d) The conception of literacy programs as an integral part of social and economic development. Maintaining these programs as a separate activity from the global plans for development of society is a way to produce negative results from the educational system. The U.N.E.S.C.O. statement, in this regard, has a very important bearing on this: ". . . Illiteracy is a structural problem, a consequence of the socioeconomic situation; and in order to solve it, an important political decision is required that involves a transformation of the social structure which will allow the promotion of the capacity to participate in a self-sufficient economy and in the social and cultural communities" (D'Oleo, 1983, p. 26).

Whenever the above U.N.E.S.C.O. statement is achieved in the Dominican Republic, education will take a different road full of better fortune for all. The future of generations rests on the improvement of education.

Post-Trujillo Dominican Government's Literacy Programs

The Dominican government has undertaken three additional literacy campaigns since the Trujillo literacy campaign. The one covering the period 1970-1971 was directed by the Ministry of Education with assistance and consultation of Venezuelan educational experts. This campaign lacked serious organization, according to the facts given by the Report of Education of 1985. That literacy campaign not only had the help of teachers and educational centers but it also was complemented by radio transmissions for nine consecutive months. Mobile units were

utilized to do promotion and to support the program. It involved more than 123,000 volunteers who worked as teacher aides. It is interesting that 124,000 adult students attended these courses, according to the Ministry of Education's statistics. At the end, only 45,000 took the final examinations and 16,243 passed them. However, this literacy campaign, as well as those organized by the Trujillo regime, lacked follow-up programs. As a result of this, the majority of the people who obtained their literacy through them became functional illiterates, and, in time, illiterates. The whole effort was, therefore, in vain since the graduates of those literacy campaign courses were not included in any other educational program. According to the 1985 Report of Education: "A program of less length in 1973 was even less effective" (Education Diagnostic, 1985, p. 278). The last literacy campaign in the country took place in 1984. This effort, called Citizen Education, tried to reduce illiteracy by 15 percent. The government, in their efforts, included educational programs of literacy in cultural centers used as night schools. These schools function with many limitations. According to the Dominican Republic's Board of Education Report: "The centers of popular culture or adult night schools offered literacy classes to elementary and junior high school adult students from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m. during working days" (Educational Diagnostic, 1985, p. 284). Between 1980 and 1981, these centers had in attendance 15,000 students, two-thirds of them from the urban sector.

Dominican adult illiteracy is over 40 percent, according to consulted statistics. Adult education programs, as seen by national experts in education (Camacho, Cassa, Moquete, M. Fernandez, and

Veloz Maggiolo, among others), understand that the Dominican education system in the area of adult education does not have a curriculum designed to combat this illiteracy crisis. The adult education curriculum is the same one used at the elementary level. From 1983-1984, the Board of Education tried to correct this problem through an Adult Education Improvement Project (PREA). In 1985, the Dominican Republic's Board of Education stated: "This project is of high priority, designed to make important changes in the Board of Education adult program. Its objectives are as follows: (1) Training literate people in areas of priority for the country's development, and (2) Reinforcing Adult Education programs offered by the Board of Education" (Educational Diagnostic, 1985, p. 279). This project was divided into two components: literacy and post-literacy. The first had a budget of RD$9,101,000, and the second one of RD$9,279,000. With these economic resources and through the Board of Education, the government proposed to teach reading and writing to 500,000 adults in four years. They hoped to teach 231,000 during the first year; 120,000 during the second year; 115,000 during the third year; and 84,000 during the final year of the project. The Post-Literacy component had a basic objective: "The basic objective was the formulation of all the school study plans in the Popular Culture Centers where literacy schools function, in addition to the publication of 3,515,000 textbooks and the training of 3,158 teachers and school administrators. With this type of government, such adult literacy schools would be in better condition to serve an average of 259,000 students per year in a four-year program" (Educational Diagnostic, 1985, p. 279).

The Popular Radio School, with a budget of RD$1,453,000, is part of the effort to eradicate illiteracy. Regarding the quality of this type of teaching, Clifford H. Block indicated that "the instruction by radio is a sure means to rapidly improve pedagogical quality, generating an increase in new subjects and greater educational access" (Block, 1985, p. 1). This Radio-Education effort has given positive results and other nations are copying the model.

The Dominican government, without a doubt, has neglected the country's educational development by not giving full attention to the solution to the illiteracy problem. This situation not only relates to the country's economic inability to solve its educational problems but also to its model of social control which responds to the domestic ruling class' interest and those of foreign investors, who are the only ones obtaining benefit from the situation of ignorance and underdevelopment of the damned nation.

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CHAPTER V

THE DOMINICANS IN THE NORTH AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The fundamental analysis of the Dominicans in the North American educational system expounded here does not have as its goal to demonstrate that the migration of this ethnic group is the most important model to understand the generalities of educational development. We would only like to point out some anomalous instances of an educational system which do not respond to its stated mission of interpreting the objective conditions of the collectivity it serves. Let us look at this attempt as an initial paradigm in the theoretical activity of the educational reality of the Dominicans in this great nation, harbinger of internal and external cares for so many. As noted in the data about the Dominican educational system, Dominican nationals who emigrate to the United States, mostly from the rural zone, arrive in North American cities with a coefficient of knowledge well below their chronological development. This creates problems of adjustment to the new environment. In this chapter, the researcher will analyze in detail how the above-mentioned problem manifests itself.

To this present date, many studies have been published on the educational reality of Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Cubans in the North American educational system. Nevertheless, these do not even briefly discuss the situation of other groups, which also figure prominently in the educational sector: studies like Jose B. Cuellar's Un Modelo De La Cultura Chicana Para La Educacion Bilingue (A Model of Chicano Culture

for Bilingual Education) and Donald F. Sala's Autonomia Cultural Como Un Criterio En La Educacion Bilingue (Cultural Autonomy as a Criteria in Bilingual Education). We cannot omit mention of Fitzpatrick's The Puerto Rican American and Nieves-Falcon's Diagnostico De Puerto Rico (Diagnostic of Puerto Rico) which are examples, among others, that help us understand the role of culture in the educational process of the ethnic groups they deal with. Until now, there has not been a detailed study of the Dominican within an educational and cultural context. Such studies are necessary for the correct appraisal of the educational circumstances which these uprooted bring with them. Perhaps this study will help launch others.

Historical Framework of the North American Educational System

The national educational system presents an abnormal development which responds to changes in the hegemonic model of domination in society. This idea can be conceptualized in demystifying incorrect theories about the perfection of the educational system and analyzing closely the historical process of the structure and methodology of education.

In the United States, before the Depression, the educational system utilized codification as the fundamental mode of the formal development of knowledge of the word. The educational system solidified in its practice by the use of methodological forms inspired by Behaviorism and the Behavioral Outcome Approach. These combined methodological forms allowed the development of the thinking capabilities of the social

beings who attended the educational centers compulsorily. It is also noteworthy to point out that Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other ethnic groups were a minority without the elements of judgment necessary to evaluate critically their brief participation in the historical process of education during that period.

Many events affecting its later development as a nation happened during the 1920s in the United States. The different strains within the labor movement were directed by men who commanded Marxist philosophy and rhetoric. During this period, women participated more actively in the struggle for their rights as social beings; they participated in the democratic process by casting their first vote in an election. This was, in fact, their first great achievement. We ask how all this relates to the educational system. One way to respond to this enigma is to consider that when human beings have the opportunity to develop their thinking capacity, they tend to question the established order, especially when this order does not respond to their class interests. They come to understand the correlation among social events which happen around them. They analyze society as a whole where each unit holds an intrinsic relationship with the social whole. They ponder the premise that labor leaders and women struggling for social reforms are recipients of the hegemonic educational system.

These facts, along with the international situation (the Soviet Union adopts Socialism), create certain social conditions which influence the North American model of domination, bringing about in 1925 a change in the educational system from a codification system to a system of symbols. The reality briefly described here reveals that structural

changes in any society are determined by the dominant class which controls the economic infrastructure of the country.

Indisputable, during this period, the capitalist economic system stimulated the development of charters, monopolies, and other forms of concentrated capital. This situation lost its control dynamic during the Depression years, producing in subsequent years new forms of economic relationships. World War II was a determinant factor in this development. The new economic relationship promoted the highest level of technological industry and created a need for huge reserves of workers which would be recruited from educational centers and from among immigrant contingents. The latter came primarily from European countries. The symbolic method of teaching was greatly instrumental in the creation of functional illiterates. They could follow directions in the manuals distributed in the workplace, thus guaranteeing better production output. Desertion from school rises considerably and the reading level falls in accelerated proportion. The greater the demand for workers, the smaller the amount of students of working age. For a more exhaustive understanding of this topic, consult Rudolph Fleisch's book, Why Johnny Cannot Read (1953).

This negative situation in respect to North American society in the 1920s and perpetuating itself into the 1930s is paradoxically the price a society must pay for its process of development. In the 1940s, as this researcher pointed out before, one of the most important historical events in the development of the United States occurred. Out of this event of international impact, World War II, the United States emerged strengthened in the economic, political, and global influence orders.

The economic overdevelopment of the country during this period influenced the maintenance of obsolete norms and forms in the educational system. Reasons for this included the desire to preserve the production of huge reserves of workers to fill the vacancies created in the great mass of workers by retirement, mutilation, sickness, or other causes. This was imperative for the better yield of industry. According to White Plisko, "formal education is a primordial agent in social and technological changes" (Plisko, 1980, p. 2). He also added that "while education responds to a pattern in the wide environment, the educational system develops new adaptations to society" (Plisko, 1980, p. 2).

Definitely not all is negative in the social system which we are discussing. The educational reality has its positive sides in as much as the recipient or subject of education can adapt to the behavioral pattern inherited by generational conditioning. The educational system "helped the nation, at the close of the 1950s, to explore space for the first time by contributing both the manpower and the necessary skills. Recently, it has also offered access to important positions in society by offering learning opportunities to traditionally excluded groups. In the future, as society progressively specializes and diversifies, the educational system will play an increasingly active role in pairing participants' abilities and expectations with the knowledge and orientation which society needs" (Plisko, 1980, p. 2). What Plisko presents us in this last quote can provide guidelines for interpretation of the data and this researcher's observations. The type of program described above does not apply to poor communities. The orientation and knowledge

necessary in society is determined by the structures of power which never respond to our immediate interests.

Special Programs

During the 1960s, North American society confronted two international events which were fundamental in understanding the boom of special programs for and the attention given to the poor communities where they were implemented. The Viet Nam War and the Cuban Revolution are historical events which have left indelible marks on the political and economic course of this country. During this period, the country reached its highest level of consciousness about its immediate problems. The majority of citizens interpreted the Viet Nam conflict as mingling in the internal affairs of another nation. People also began to question the precarious situation in which the great masses of poor in this country lived. They expressed their discontent about enormous government expenditures on international conflicts which accrue no benefits to the North American people. This gave rise to the development of the national consciousness, not only with respect to Viet Nam and Cuba but also about our own modus vivendi.

The heightened consciousness of citizens brings with it serious conflicts. People refused to participate in the war; they marched, demonstrated, and opposed the war and the advancement of governmental measures in many ways. The Cuban conflict brought to the United States' environment an element of great contradiction: Cuban exile, which, on the one hand, was going to be utilized by the local government to justify its position against countries which one way or another represent

leftist positions. On the other hand, these exiles gave rise to the general question of whether the government's political position of stopping communism at all cost was at all valid. These pressures, and others not mentioned, forced the government to take into consideration the needs of the community which (let it be said in passing) was a time bomb that probably would have exploded within the social conditions existing then. It is then that (taking into consideration the aforementioned, alongside the resolute participation of the community in putting pressure on the local governments) several special programs were created. The researcher used the terminology "special." What makes them special is that they serve as palliatives to more pressing problems within the system. The intention was to try to calm social tension. In great measure, this policy had its positive achievements on behalf of the system. As a consequence to this, several programs in the area of education were born: Bilingual, Puerto Rican Studies, Black Studies, Ethnic Studies, and others. It was the researcher's special interest to focus attention on the bilingual programs in order that we may clearly understand the situation of the Dominican in the educational realm.

When we analyze a problem, there are elements which play a fundamental role before reaching conclusions; they are elements of form and content. The first consists in the utilization of the mechanisms in place for bureaucratic procedures which allows the attainment of social goals; the second is an element of content where the government's philosophy merges with the goals outlined by the government search of complete dominion over society. The element of form plays an important role in the achievement of the special programs in place for two reasons. First,

it creates a positive image of the system; and second, it counteracts any possible tension in this order, that is, it keeps people satisfied because they are supposedly being offered something that fulfills their needs. It satisfies government because the problem of content in society will forever remain in the educational philosophy applicable through those programs. All this is within the set of expectations which Schermerhorn described: "Probabilities are always magnificent when two groups with different cultural histories establish regular rather than occasional contact. For one of the groups to assume dominion is the most typical factor in ethnic relations" (Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 312). The government was not expecting these programs to really solve the problems of identity, acculturation, desertion from school, and deficient education among the Spanish-speaking; on the contrary, they visualized these programs as a way to assert the cultural superiority of the host country.

In the United States, we find two types of bilingualism. One is that of the elite, described by Christina Bratt Paulston as "the hallmark of intellectuals and the learned in most societies, and one might add, of upper-class membership in many societies in Western Europe. It is a matter of choice" (Paulston, 1977, p. 311). The second occurs when the majority of Hispanics are categorized. This becomes known as folkloric bilingualism. According to the same author, it "is the result of ethnic groups in contact and competition within a single state, where 'one of the peoples becomes bilingual involuntarily in order to survive'" (Paulston, 1977, p. 31). It is no secret for anybody that bilingual/multicultural programs respond in great measure to the massive

failure of the educational system in performing its pedagogic function with groups who do not speak English. This failure has forced educational authorities to recognize the existence of bi/multilingualism, and eventually to legislate that bilingual programs be implemented. The fundamental problem of bilingual programs from the very beginning was not to conceive culture as an indispensable element in the learning process of the bilingual child. Discussions among prominent educators on bilingualism were never-ending and in great measure only emphasized the language issues. "Weinreich (1953, p. 1) takes a more neutral position in defining bilingualism as the 'practice of alternatively using two languages.' The best way to deal with this variation would seem to be to recognize that bilingualism is not an all-or-more property but it is an individual characteristic that may exist to degrees varying from minimal competence to complete mastery of more than one language" (Hornby, 1977, p. 3).

Not everybody fell into this trap. Schermerhorn, taking into consideration cultural implications, conducted a study on the relationships among ethnic groups which allows us to glimpse at the importance of culture in any educational system in the United States. This analysis, in the researcher's opinion, helps to clarify the relationships among ethnic groups fighting for a piece of the pie. Schermerhorn sees "three major causal factors for determining the nature of the relationship between ethnic groups and the process of integration into society. The first refers to the origin of the contact situation between 'the subordinate ethnic and dominant group, such as annexation, migration, and colonization'; the second refers to 'the degree of enclosure

(institutional separation or segmentation) of the subordinate group or groups from the society-wide network of institutions and associations; and the third refers to 'the degree of control exercised by the dominant group over access to scarce resources by subordinate groups in a given society'" (Schermerhorn, 1970, p. 15). Some of these differences keep the Hispanic community divided within itself, and minority groups at odds with each other.

Economic Resources for Education

The North American educational budget is proportionately higher than the Dominican educational budget. As in many other countries of the capitalist world, the majority of "studies reveal that education is clearly tied to jobs, profits, and occupational objectives" (Plisko, 1978, p. 2). Education has, for social beings, not only connotations of potential gains and employment but also the place they should occupy in the social structure.

For men, as well as women, great educational achievements are associated with climbing the career, and thus social, ladder. This, nevertheless, is not always the case, especially for minority groups.

There is no doubt that annually the United States of America has budgeted increases in educational investments. According to Plisko, the United States has invested large amounts of resources in education: "Since the end of World War II, an increasing share of the G.N.P. has been devoted to financing education (entry 1.17). Whereas over the past thirty years the G.N.P. rose six-fold during the same period, education expenditures experienced a phenomenal nineteen-fold increase. Even

after adjusting for inflation, education expenditures have increased by at least 500 percent since 1949. Only in the last four years has the steady rise in education expenditures, as a share of the G.N.P., begun to waver" (Plisko, 1978, p. 7). All this has a lot to do with the demands of parents and community organizations for more and better education.

In this study, data included reaffirms the researcher's assertion that what is important is not the amount of money invested in education but, rather, how it is used. Sound educational planning is most important. An example of this is an article published in the Sunday Boston Globe, which points out: "The Boston Public School System, the oldest and perhaps the most distressed urban public school system in the United States, for more than a decade has been stumbling from crisis to crisis with no consistent budgetary and academic priorities. It has had no systematic method of determining where its money is going, how many people it is employing, or what supplies are available" (Sunday Boston Globe, 28 June 1982, p. 1). Another interesting point the article makes is about the lack of organization and little administrative control: ". . . nor has the Boston School Department had a strategy for determining what programs exist in the individual school, or which programs are working or failing. Often administrative concern for quality education has been second to political considerations" (Sunday Boston Globe, 28 June 1982, p. 1). In this respect, the Dominican educational system has nothing to envy the North American system. Administrative deficiencies are as prominent in Boston as they are in the Dominican Republic. Both share administrative deficiencies fostered by little interest on

the part of the State administration in stopping politics from being the fundamental parameter for the selection of key administrators, who are responsible for the education of our children. These same authorities ignore the capacity and experience of other possible candidates who could assume the direction and administration of educational programs because they do not follow the politics of the powers that be. We cannot negate that in the city of Boston, as well as in the rest of the nation, there are educators with enough capacity to remedy the evils that plague the educational system. Nevertheless, improvisers, who in the long run will be migrant birds flying over this tempestuous sea, are preferred. A similar element to the one the researcher purports is the foundation of deficient education in the Dominican Republic is to be found in the educational system of the city of Boston, where Robert Spillane, former Superintendent of Schools, ". . . acknowledges that the Boston School System is viewed by educators across the country as a national disgrace. The Boston school machine is defective. It's operators, the teachers, have not had the basic operating manual, a uniform city-wide curriculum, for nearly fifteen years; very few teachers have received any training in seven years. The machine essential parts (building, books, supplies, materials) are outdated, flaking apart, or non-existent; and the teacher and administrator have become so concerned with their own job security, not just whether they will have a job but what violence they might encounter on the job, that their interest in fashioning a quality product has been blunted" (Sunday Boston Globe, 28 June 1982, p. 1).

Added to all this is student absenteeism from the classroom: "Sixty percent of those students who failed more than half their academic courses failed because they were absent so often" (Sunday Boston Globe, 28 June 1982, p. 1). In addition, 10 percent of high school students have left school in the last three years. We know that there are no effects without a cause; it is for this reason one has to think that we should look for the causes of these disastrous effects in the structural elements of the educational system. The educational infrastructure in this country is not the main cause for these deficiencies; rather, the machinery set up to direct and guide the educational system is.

The nation invests astronomical sums of money in a system which does not respond to the most pressing needs of its population. In 3,152 post-secondary institutions, the nation spent $56.8 billion in FY'80, an 11.9 percent increase from FY'79 when the total expenditures were $50.7 billion. The distribution of expenditures of these $56.8 billion was as follows: $18.9 billion (32.5 percent) for instruction; $5.1 billion (9.0 percent) in research; and $4.7 billion (8.2 percent) for operations and physical plant. FY'80 revenue came from federal, state, and private sources, as follows: $11.9 billion (20.4 percent) from tuition; $28.9 billion (49.5 percent) from federal and local government; and $2.8 billion (4.8 percent) from private gifts, grants and contracts. All this is indicative of the economic strength of a system which, independently lacking or not lacking the resources to do a good job in education, has, in general, disastrous results nationwide. One would need specific research on this topic to be able to discuss the problem in all its facets.

Dominicans in the North American Educational System

Dominicans emigrate to the United States searching for better opportunities in all realms of everyday life. Availability of jobs is one of the reasons most quoted by researchers and persons knowledgeable about the problem as impelling Dominicans to aspire for a place in this society. The majority of these immigrants come from the rural zone. Saskia Sassenkoob tells us that: "The Dominican in New York typically originated in rural areas where the predominant forms of socioeconomic organization are a peasantry and rural wage labor" (Sossenkoob, 1980, p. 315). According to the 1960 Dominican census, the distribution of the population is 67 percent in the rural zone and 33 percent in the urban zone. The migratory boom began in 1966. This is further evidence that the majority of Dominican immigrants to the United States of America come from the rural zone. It is important to keep in mind what we have already demonstrated that this is the sector of the population with less access to educational facilities in their native country. Previous chapters have pointed out in detail the lack of schools, desks, blackboards, and teachers in the educational system. The rural zone shoulders the worst part of this situation. If we take into consideration that the educational system of the Dominican Republic shows a deficit, and that the rural zone is the one most affected, we find that the great majority of children and youth emigrating to the United States show grave educational deficiencies ranging from illiteracy to the lowest levels of Spanish reading comprehension (functional illiteracy). This assertion in no way attempts to blur the fact that the North American

educational system does receive some students with the knowledge and basic skills necessary to survive in the educational system of the host country.

Unfortunately, for these immigrants, the North American educational system is not receptive to a problem they have inherited from an educational system of which they know virtually nothing. Let us note, in passing, that this is already a contradiction. The North Americans are responsible for the poor quality of the educational system inforce in the Dominican Republic, since they are basically in control of the economic infrastructure. Many attempts have been made at using the experience gained with the Puerto Rican child in dealing with the Dominican child, but this has brought about grave conflicts of understanding; the children come from different realities and, consequently, have differing educational needs.

Education in the United States, as in Puerto Rico, is diversified. There is an attempt to use the educational system to supply society with the reserve of future workers it needs. The technological advancements are so great that future workers will have to have, besides the academic skills which are so fundamental to this end, a higher coefficient of understanding. All this is very different from the Dominican Republic, where education is traditionally conventional, following the European mode of teaching. Codification and a strict program of classes characterize the Dominican educational system. Promotion is dependent on the level of skills which the students demonstrate to have mastered, and not on the chronological year in relationship to the school year, as in this system. Education in the Dominican Republic serves to forestall the

entry into the labor market hosts of Dominicans who are engaged in the frustrating process of making up for deficiencies (which could have been properly attended to in an early age) and who reach adulthood before becoming eligible for professional jobs in their field of interest. Since there is no industrial development which creates jobs, and since the educational system responds to the model of domination, Dominican education serves as a gatekeeper which impedes the possible flux of professionals and technicians who saturate the job market. The consequence is a lack of interest in a formal education.

The great majority of Dominicans who live in the United States live in New York. "More than half the number of Dominicans probably live in Manhattan Upper West Side, notably in the Washington Heights section, with smaller concentrations in the lower East Side and in the Corona section of Queens" (Sossenkoob, 1980, p. 317). It is thus that we find large numbers of Dominicans studying in School Districts #3 and #6 in Manhattan. The fundamental problem these educational districts face is in being able to offer to these new immigrants a curriculum which responds to the students' needs, and that at the same time fulfills the requirements of the School Board on the content and skills to be covered at different educational levels. Teachers find themselves in a dilemma that can only be solved by chance. On the one hand, the teacher has a desire to teach; on the other, he must make a decision about offering what the student can digest, given his level of skills, and not what their chronological age demands, while trying to fulfill the requirements of the educational system. Little has been achieved in this matter. The only actual results are a high rate of class and grade

repeaters and a high rate of school desertion. Worst of all are the graduates without even the most basic skills to read and write either of the two languages they use most often, Spanish and English.

Dominicans, like Puerto Ricans and other minority groups, have many problems of adaptation. The environment forces the patterns of behavior they bring with them to change. This is poignantly the case for adolescent immigrants. The great majority of adults congregate in areas where the Dominican patterns of behavior can be recreated, even if this means alienation from the host culture. Serious research on Dominican migration points out that: "The proliferation of expressive associations within the Dominican community can be seen as a way in which a rural population adapts to a new, urban milieu by reproducing traditional institutions in an urban-oriented form (see the notion of 'replicate structure' in Anderson and Anderson, 1959; Little, 1962, and Rogler, 1972 [p. 5], on how voluntary associations represent collective efforts to compensate for the loss of communal life). This reproduction of traditional institutions, and the affirmation of ethnicity, is not necessarily an attachment to the past but rather a response to the needs generated in a new urban context" (see Sutton, 1975, p. 183)" (Sossenkoob, 1980, p. 317). Dominicans form associations and cultural clubs in the United States which follow the same patterns of organization of their country of origin. Similarly, they see the educational system as one where the teacher is a second parent directing the education of their children, and, therefore, see no need for their active participation in the supervision and guidance of the education their children are receiving. It is hard for the peasant to understand that

organizing within organisms, like parent advisory committees and other community organizations, can have beneficial effects on their children and on themselves. To most parents, it means the loss of valuable hours and days of work, which are so important for subsistence. Children's education is of primary importance from the theoretical and idealist point of view, but, according to practical canons, it is the responsibility of the teachers and of the educational system. It takes much effort to get a Dominican parent involved in the struggle for the best interests of the community since, as stated before, he has no tradition of struggle for those purposes. Their economical interests, and what they understand to be their family responsibilities, take precedence when making decisions about what to do.

During the 1970s, the teachers in the New York City school system had several problems, including one of importance for this study: The great majority of the staff in the Bilingual/Bicultural Program were either neophytes or improvisers on Dominican history and culture. This made it impossible for the teacher to give equal time to this migrant population which was growing immensely. The curriculum used by teachers only emphasized Puerto Rican culture. This created much confusion about the positive values of his culture for the Dominican student, since they were never mentioned and the teacher was incapable of instructing in these matters. It was the children and the parents themselves who became the precursors of their own culture by orienting the teachers and administrators in this respect. As time went on, historical and cultural Dominican learning units were developed using as sources books which had already become obsolete in the Dominican historical, cultural,

and educational process. This, instead of helping to demystify, perpetuated myths and historical inaccuracies which even today are under heavy attack within the Dominican system itself. In the United States, our children will assimilate knowledge which, in the long run, will revert in detriment of their own collectivity. All this came about because the North American educational system did not make it a priority to train capable personnel about the cultures of the children they were training.

The Dominican child is used to an educational system where the teacher directs his actions within the classroom, giving him little space for any actions which might disrupt discipline within it. Many Dominican children, once in the United States, are placed in open classrooms, where flexibility encourages individual initiative and creativity. The teacher only provides direction for the activities the children engage in. The problem is that the Dominican child comes from a closed system where the teacher is the pivital element of all the actions undertaken in the classroom. The Dominican child loses orientation in this new educational environment. Since he is unable to independently work, the tasks are not finished on time. In other instances, behavior incidents occur because they do not understand the new-found liberty they are given within the classroom.

The Dominican student definitely confronts other problems in adapting to the educational environment. They are manifested in different ways: repetition of subjects and grades, discipline problems, desertion from school, and others. Their patterns of behavior and absence of formal education do not help teachers in accomplishing the tasks they

have to complete within the classroom for the reasons stated above. They have a lack of training and knowledge about the Dominican cultural and historical values, and complete ignorance about the educational system from which these children come from. In addition, the educational deficiencies with which these students emigrate create an educational catastrophy whose true extent can only be measured by an exhaustive study conducted with the appropriate scientific rigor.

This research may serve as a foundation for further in-depth investigations about the educational problems faced by the Dominican in the United States. Objective knowledge about this educational reality will serve to set guidelines for the improvement of education for Dominicans, in particular, and of all immigrants to this great northern country, in general.

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CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, a summary, conclusions about the Dominican educational system, and suggestions for a series of bilingual/bicultural teacher training workshops on Dominican education for teachers in the United States' school system are presented.

Since Dominicans are a new immigrant group, there is need for workshops in states where their presence is very noticeable; e.g., Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. The proposed workshops would help teachers approach the task of educating Dominican students in a more positive way. The challenge is compounded by conditions in the Dominican Republic described in the study.

After a careful analysis of the available facts on educational developments in the Dominican Republic, the researcher concluded that a solution is very nearly impossible without a serious governmental commitment. At the moment, Dominican government officials show more interest in rhetoric than actions that might lead to improvements in the educational system. Every year, the government allocates an inadequate budget for education, thus contributing to the increasing doubts about its intention to educate the people. Furthermore, this is a clear reflection of the low priority education has in general.

It is abundantly clear that this problematic situation with the Dominican education budget had existed since education was first instituted there. A number of scholars in the Dominican Republic have stated that since its inception, the system of education in the country was

condemned to failure.

One of the most revealing findings relates to the stagnation of the educational system after the downfall of Trujillo. The educational system passed through three decades of gloom during the Trujillo regime. Surprisingly, however, education for the last twenty-five years has advanced at a very slow pace compared with the dynamics of pedagogical science and the growth of the private sector.

There is no doubt that the Dominican educational system needs technical and financial assistance if it is to be restructured and given new direction. There has not been sufficient economic aid provided by international agencies (Agency for International Development, U.N.E.S.C.O., and World Bank, among others) to create a positive environment in the system. The most critical needs are: teacher training (56 percent of the teachers have no more than a High School diploma), curriculum development, physical facilities (a great lack of classroom and schools), and teaching aid materials.

Another disturbing finding relates to the absence of resource materials, research materials on education, and educational planning.

Problems within the educational system range from administrative matters to educational commitment. A clear example is the inability of the school system to solve the problem of illiteracy (56 percent of the population is functionally illiterate in the urban areas, and 89.7 percent in the rural areas). In addition, of every 100 children that attended school in the rural areas, 7.93 finished the sixth grade. Government data indicates 37 percent as the illiteracy toll in the country. The Dominican population has a 3.6 elementary grade average, a

modest accomplishment hard to maintain when the population doubles in a period of twenty years. And even this average 4.0 elementary level is not sufficient to create the capabilities needed for the development of the country. Dominicans with higher education have great difficulties finding jobs due to a limited market and distrust by the employer in the national educational system.

It is clearly defined in this research that the United States absorbed many Dominicans who migrated from the country in the last two decades. Therefore, the school system in the States became responsible for the educational future of this Dominican immigrant group. It is no secret that these new students carry over their educational deficit with them. As a consequence, the use of a workshop model on Dominican education is suggested with emphasis on the history and culture of the country as a training model for the purpose of balancing the designed in-service training for bilingual teachers, in particular, and teachers in general.

Recommendations

The first recommendation, for any type of educational program addressing Dominican students in the United States, is to recognize that students cannot be placed in classes by age, but that they should be organized by skill level. This would recognize the fact that Dominican students typically are 16.8 years old before they finish the sixth grade at home.

After reviewing the major research on the Dominican Republic's system of education, the following is recommended: The restructuring of the Dominican national system of education. In order for that change

to be realistic and productive, all reforms in the educational system have to be based upon authentic Dominican cultural roots. In addition, all teacher training programs have to be formulated giving special attention to the initial educational development of the trainees as a base for the formulation of a follow-up pedagogical development.

Many educators ask themselves if it is possible to transform the educational system without changing the structure of society. Educators ask that question in the country because they relate it to the history of Dominican education. It is well known that the Dominican government has changed hands many times and no real changes have taken place in the school system. Many international educators (such as Bourdieu, Passeron, Illich, among others) believe that educational change would not occur without change in the economic infrastructure of society. In the Dominican society, the question to be answered immediately is: What to do first--the revolution to obtain the economic changes needed, or create the environment to give all students of school age a chance to learn? Most educators understand that education contributes to the maintenance of social order. Coincidently, the level of education among the people can be a motor for social transformation, since the people in general through education can obtain the tools used by the ruling class to strengthen their domination and control. By raising the level of the peoples' knowledge, the ruling class takes the risk of developing the instrument to produce changes.

These findings imply that we have to explore alternatives in order to become part of the process needed to produce the educational transformation. We have to understand these concepts without becoming an

obstacle to the present struggle but rather a sensitive part of a vanguard for change. It is understood that educational transformation within the present system of government would not change the social structure; therefore, low-cost, quality education created under certain flexible conditions has to be seen as generally advantageous to the public and to the government which prefers well-being to destabilizing strife.

Another area of importance relates to reducing the educational imbalance between an illiterate population and a well-educated elite. It is understood that this struggle would not solve the origin of the problem--class struggle. Nevertheless, it would facilitate the opportunity to receive a basic education.

The main goals for the educational system in the Dominican Republic in the near future are:

(1) Expansion of the primary education facilities, especially in the rural areas.

(2) The development of an effective literacy program for the adult population between 14 and 40 years of age.

a) Developing programs of teacher training and improvement;

b) Reviewing and reforming the curriculum at all levels;

c) Expanding health and nutrition services;

d) Providing schools the educational resource materials needed;

e) Creating resource centers for production and distribution of elementary-level textbooks at low cost;

f) Improving the administration by decentralizing the system and creating effective units that speed the function of the system.

These suggestions will help to eliminate untrained teachers, obsolete textbooks, and will update the curriculum and teaching programs in a way that responds to the needs for social, political, and cultural developments of the country.

WORKSHOP OUTLINE

WORKSHOP TITLE: "Dominican History"

AIM: To explore important historical events in the development of the Dominican Republic.

TIME: Six hours.

INSTRUCTOR: Would clearly define the following sequence of events:

(1) Historical Framework: From the Haitian domination to Dominican Independence.

a) The Haitian Intervention: Causes and effects.

b) Haitian and the abolition of slavery in Saint Domingue.

c) The Haitian agrarian reform and social discontent in the dominate colony.

d) The independence movement.

e) The formation of the Dominican State.

(2) Explore the most important developments post-independence from 1844 to 1900.

a) The reannexation of the country to Spain.

b) The August 16, 1861 independence revolution.

c) United States' relation with the Dominican Republic during that period.

d) Hostos in Santo Domingo.

(3) Examine the role of the United States during the 1916-1924 intervention in the Dominican Republic.

a) Causes and effects of the intervention.

(4) Dominican reaction to the intervention.

(5) The Trujillo regime and his legacy.

a) An overview of the facts around Trujillo's iron fist regime.

b) Examine negative and positive contribution of the Trujillo era.

(6) The post-Trujillo era.

a) An examination of the most important current events during the 1960s.

b) The country's democratization process.

c) The April 1965 revolt and the American intervention.

d) An overview of the Dominican Republic today.

OBJECTIVES:

(1) Develop participants' knowledge on the Dominican Republic history.

(2) Make educators aware of how important developing capabilities in Dominican history are to become an effective educator for Dominican children.

(3) Evaluate the impact of the Haitian domination on the Dominican conscience.

(4) Analyze how agrarian reform helped to develop a discontent climate that led to social revolt.

(5) Analyze the content of the independence movement.

(6) Evaluate the impact of United States intervention in the Dominican Republic.

(7) Explore and become familiar with Eugenio Maria de Hostos' pedagogical and political contribution to the Dominican Republic.

(8) Analyze Trujillo's regime and its impact in the Dominican Republic today.

(9) Evaluate the impact of the April 1965 revolution and the American intervention.

(10) Explore the new development of Dominican society today.

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SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES:

(1) Create with participant small discussion groups.

a) Distribute topics on Dominican history.

b) Prepare lesson plan on Dominican history using the discussion materials.

(2) Elaborate themes that relate Dominican history to the history of other countries and the United States, in particular.

RESOURCE MATERIALS:

(1) Dominican Republic slides

(2) A Caribbean map

(3) Dominican Republic film

PROPOSED DISTRIBUTION MATERIALS:

(1) Hand-out: Fact-finding brochure on the Dominican Republic

a) Geographical information

b) Population distribution

c) A cultural overview

d) Country resources

WORKSHOP TITLE: "Dominican Culture"

AIM: To examine the Dominican cultural development.

TIME: Six hours.

INSTRUCTOR: Would explore areas of vital importance to understand Dominican culture.

(1) The role of culture in Dominican society.

a) Identity and Community: A response to the Haitian presence.

b) Ethnic Identity: The creation of an "Indian" nation.

c) Cultural diversity.

d) Economic development and the rise of middle-class values.

e) The role of religion and Dominican behavioral patterns.

(2) The Dominican family.

a) Background of the Dominican family.

b) Structure of the Dominican family.

c) Marriage and family in the Dominican Republic.

d) The Dominican migration to the United States and the present situation of Dominican families.

(3) Racial patterns in the Dominican Republic.

a) Designation of color and discrimination factors in Dominican society.

b) Class struggle and racial tension in Dominican society.

(4) Major influence in the development of customs and tradition in the Dominican Republic.

a) Spaniard

b) African

c) West Indies

d) Taino

e) Coordination through the plantation system

(5) Popular cultural expressions.

a) Music and dance

b) Arts and literature

c) Folklore

OBJECTIVES:

(1) Develop teachers' capabilities in Dominican culture.

(2) Explore relations between Dominicans and other Caribbean and North American cultures.

(3) Become familiar with the ethnic identity: The creation of an "Indian" nation.

(4) Analyze cultural diversity in Dominican society.

(5) Explore the role of religion and middle-class values in Dominican society today.

(6) Become familiar with the family structure in the Dominican Republic.

(7) Examine the role of marriage in the Dominican family.

(8) Evaluate the impact of the Dominican migration to the United States and the present situation of Dominican families.

(9) Differentiate the discrimination patterns on Dominican and United States societies.

(10) Explore differences and similarities in the culture of the Caribbean.

(11) Examine the roots of folkloric tradition in the Dominican Republic.

READINGS:

(1) Franklin Franco. Los Negros, Los Mulatos y La Nacion Dominicana. Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1970.

(2) Doris Sommer. One Master for Another: Populism as Patriarchal Rhetoric in Dominican Novels. United States: University Press of America, 1983.

(3) Marcio Veloz Maggiolo. Sobre Cultura Dominicana y Otras Culturas: Ensayos Editora Alfa y Omega. Santo Domingo: 1977.

(4) Howard Holman Bell. Black Separatism and the Caribbean. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970.

(5) Melvin Moses Knight. The American in Santo Domingo. New York: Arno Press, 1970.

(6) Thomas Duval Roberts, et al. Area Handbook for the Dominican Republic. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

(7) Carlos Esteban Deive. El Indio, El Negro y La Vida Tradicional Dominicana. Ediciones Museo del Hombre Dominicano. Santo Domingo: Republica Dominicana, 1978.

(8) Marvin Harris. Patterns of Race in the Americas. United States: Norton Library, 1975.

(9) H. Hoetink. El Pueblo Dominicano: 1850-1900 Apuntes Para su Sociologia Historica. Coleccion Estudios, Editora UCAMAIMA. Santiago: Republica Dominicana, 1972.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES:

(1) Divide the participants in groups of five for discussion.

(2) Distribute topics on Dominican culture.

(3) Each of the participants will present a lesson plan using the discussion materials in their assigned topic.

RESOURCE MATERIALS:

(1) Bibliography

(2) Slides

(3) Musical records

(4) Films

PROPOSED DISTRIBUTION MATERIALS:

(1) Hand-out: Fact-finding brochure on Dominican culture

a) Folklore

b) Family structure

c) Behavioral patterns

d) Customs and traditions

e) Cultural diversity

WORKSHOP TITLE: "Dominicans and the School System"

AIM: To anlayze Dominican students' presence in the school system and to explore ways to solve their educational needs.

TIME: Six hours.

INSTRUCTOR: Would clearly define the Dominican educational system and the Dominican students' educational deficit. Furthermore, a descriptive analysis of the educational problems confronted by other immigrant groups will be given in order to demonstrate that the Dominicans are not an isolated case.

(1) The Dominican Educational System.

a) Panoramic view of the school system.

b) Education Deficit: Causes and effects.

c) Analysis of the statistical evidence of the problem.

(2) The Dominican in the United States' School System.

a) Involvement in the school system.

b) Achievement Test.

c) Compensatory Education and Cultural Pluralism.

d) Bilingualism.

e) The Community and Education.

OBJECTIVES: (1) To explore the Dominican education system.

(2) Examine causes and effects of educational deficits among Dominicans.

(3) Become familiar with the educational statistics and its relation with Dominican immigrants.

(4) Evaluate the impact of Dominican immigrants in the United States' educational system.

(5) Explore the compensatory education and cultural pluralism and how it reflected among Dominican students in North America.

(6) Examine bilingual education in relation to the new wave of immigrants to the United States.

READINGS:

(1) Roberto Cassa, et al. Educacion y Cambio Social en la Republica Dominiana. Santo Domingo: Ediciones INTEC, 1974.

(2) Jorge Max Fernandez. Sistema Educativo Dominicano. Santo Domingo: Ediciones INTEC, 1980.

(3) G. L. Hendricks. The Dominican Diaspora: From the Dominican Republic to New York City--Villagers in Transition. New York: Columbia University Teachers College Press, 1974.

(4) S. W. Mintz. The Caribbean Transformation. Chicago: Aldine, 1974.

(5) Ivelisses Pratts Ramirez-Perez. Por La Educacion: Ensayos y Conferencia. Santo Domingo: Editora de la UASD, 1980.

(6) Secretaria de Estado de Educacion. Diagnostico del Sector Educativo. Santo Domingo, 1985.

(7) United States Commission on Civil Rights. A Better Chance to Learn: Bilingual Education. United States: Clearinghouse Publication, 1975.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES:

(1) An introductory lecture on the Dominican school system.

(2) Distribute hand-out material on the Dominican Republic's school system for discussion.

(3) The participants will use their pedagogical knowledge and experience to provide the group with possible solutions to the educational problems affecting the immigrant students.

RESOURCE MATERIALS:

(1) Bibliography

(2) Fact-finding brochure

PROPOSED DISTRIBUTION MATERIALS:

(1) Hand-out: Fact-finding brochure

a) Dominican education

b) United States' educational programs and the Dominican students

c) Teacher training in Bilingual/ Bicultural Education

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